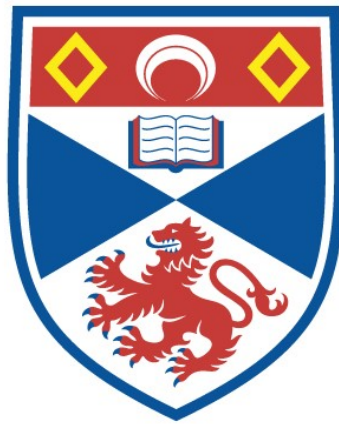


THE APPOINTED JUDGE OF THE LIVING AND THE DEAD:
THE CHRISTOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JUDGEMENT IN
ACTS 10:42 AND 17:31

Kai Akagi

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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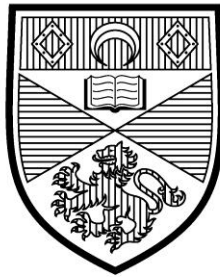
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The Appointed Judge of the Living and the Dead:
The Christological Significance of Judgment in Acts
10:42 and 17:31

Kai Akagi



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
PhD in New Testament
at the
University of St Andrews

24 February 2017

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ABSTRACT

The Appointed Judge of the Living and the Dead: The Christological Significance of Judgment in Acts 10:42 and 17:31

The speeches in Acts 10 and 17 include climactic statements about the role of Jesus in judgment. These statements raise the question of what Acts presents its protagonists to be saying about Jesus when they speak of him as a judge. The fields of research related to this question have not focused on these statements nor on the general christological significance of judgment. This study offers a reading of the speeches in Acts 10:34–43 and 17:22–31 in the context of Judaism from the late Second Temple period and shortly following that interprets them in light of their place within Luke-Acts as a narrative.

Analysis of the activity and nature of eschatological judgment figures in selected pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature, as well as of the use of scripture to construct the figures in these texts, reveals similarities and differences in comparison to the presentation of Jesus in the Acts speeches. Like Jesus, these figures are unique eschatological judges who judge righteously. Several texts label such figures “messiah.” With the possible exception of Melchizedek, they are humans, although often with exceptional characteristics. In contrast to Jesus, most texts clearly distinguish their judgment from the final judgment of God at the time of the resurrection. Moreover, they neither forgive nor mediate forgiveness.

Exegesis of Acts 10 and 17 demonstrates two points of the christological significance of judgment in those speeches. Specifically, it demonstrates that the statements about the role of Jesus as a judge both express messianic identity and suggest divine authority. The scope of Jesus’ judgment and the use of scriptural patterns in these speeches suggest his divine authority by associating him with the final judgment at the resurrection in a manner other texts only do of God. At the same time, his judgment identifies him as the appointed human messiah whom the speeches proclaim.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BHT	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJSUCSD	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by G.A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols. New York: Abingdon Press, 1951–1957.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>

<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBT</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>
JCTCRSS	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies Series
<i>JHC</i>	<i>Journal of Higher Criticism</i>
JLCRS	Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion Series
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JOTT</i>	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
JPTSup	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JSCE</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JTI</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>LumVie</i>	<i>Lumière et vie</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTH	New Testament Handbooks
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OCPM	Oxford Classical & Philosophical Monographs
<i>OtSt</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PBM	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
<i>Phil</i>	<i>Philologus</i>
PiNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>QC</i>	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
<i>R&T</i>	<i>Religion and Theology</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Review de Qumran</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SC	Sources chrétiennes
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et Esprit</i>
SCHNT	Studia ad corpus hellenisticum Novi Testamenti
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions

SHVL	Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
SR	<i>Sciences religieuses / Studies in Religion</i>
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Question of Jesus and Judgment in Acts 10:42 and 17:31

When the protagonists of Acts give testimony to Jesus, what do they say about him? Among other elements of their proclamation, they say that he is a judge. This role is of such importance that two speeches conclude with the most direct statements about Jesus' judgment in the book. Peter's speech to the house of Cornelius, which marks the shift in Acts when the message about Jesus goes to Gentiles, declares in 10:42, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.¹ Paul's final mission speech before his arrest likewise concludes in 17:31 by declaring that God ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ ἔμελλει κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

What do these statements say about Jesus? How does Jesus' role as judge place him in relation to other eschatological judges in Judaism? How does Jesus' role as judge in Luke-Acts relate to his authority and identity?² Finally, how does Jesus' judgment relate to the final judgment of God?

This study considers the christological significance of Jesus' role as judge in the speeches in Acts 10:34–43 and 17:22–31 by offering a reading of these speeches according to

¹ New Testament quotations throughout are from Barbara Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

² The designation "Luke-Acts" appears at least as early as Benjamin Wisner Bacon, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, NTH (London: Macmillan, 1900), and Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: SPCK, 1958) popularized it. In using this designation, I affirm that the content of Acts presupposes Luke, although I do not assume a view concerning the unity of narrative structure across Luke and Acts. Acts, if not the second part of a single literary work, is at least a sequel to Luke. I agree with Markus Bockmuehl, "Why not Let Acts Be Acts? In Conversation with C. Kevin Rowe," *JSNT* 28 (2005): 163–66, who refines C. Kevin Rowe's critique of the unity of Luke and Acts in the early reception of these two books in "History, Hermeneutics and the Unity of Luke-Acts," *JSNT* 28 (2005): 131–57. Rowe provides his own further comments in "Literary Unity and Reception History: Reading Luke-Acts as Luke and Acts," *JSNT* 29 [2007]: 449–57. For a survey of recent discussion of the question of the unity of Luke and Acts, see Michael F. Bird, "The Unity of Luke-Acts in Recent Discussion," *JSNT* 29 (2007): 425–48. The authorial unity of Luke-Acts has general consensus. Patricia Walters, *The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts: A Reassessment of the Evidence*, SNTSMS 145 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) presents the most notable challenge but has gained little adherence due to its problematic method. See Mikeal C. Parsons and Heather M. Gorman, "The Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts: A Review Essay," *Neot* 46 (2012): 139–52 for a critique, including application of Walters' statistical method to other material from Luke and Acts with contrasting results.

their place in the book within its first-century Jewish context. The unique presentation of Jesus as judge in these speeches both expresses his messianic identity and suggests his divine authority.³

The significance of this study lies most directly in answering the question, what is the christological significance of the way Acts portrays the presentation of Jesus' role as judge in these two speeches? The relationship of this question to wider conversations in biblical studies leads to three further points of significance. First, this study speaks into three areas of New Testament scholarship that have lacked integration: the study of the speeches in Acts, of Lukan theology, and of early christology. Second, the approach of this study avoids common pitfalls in the study of early christology, judgment, and Acts' speeches. In contrast to many studies, it engages thoroughly with relevant figures from other Jewish texts, gives attention to the use and influence of scriptural texts, identifies difference within the similarity of judgment activity, and appreciates the placement of the speeches within a narrative whole. Finally, this study suggests further work to address the relationship between messianism and "high" christology elsewhere in Luke-Acts and in other early Christian texts.

1.2 The Intersection of Three Fields

Reading speeches in Acts to consider their christological significance advances three areas of scholarship that have often been separated. This study follows previous research of early Christian proclamation and the content and function of the Acts speeches. By addressing a theological topic in passages of Acts, it advances discussion of Lukan christology. Through its concern with christology, particularly messianic identity and divine authority, this study also contributes to research of christology in New Testament texts and early Christianity. A description of studies in each of these fields follows below, showing the

³ By "divine authority," I mean authority of the sort that God has rather than merely, for example, "authority from God," although the former may not be exclusive of the latter.

need for further work. Those in the first area of research, when they do discuss judgment, do not do so in relation to theology. Those in the second have not offered developed discussions of judgment and often include little interaction with judgment figures in other Jewish literature. Those in the third, while at times presenting Jesus' judgment as a messianic or a divine function, have neither developed these ideas, nor offered focused discussion of Acts or its speeches.

1.2.1 Studies of the Speeches in Acts and Early Christian Proclamation

Previous studies of Acts' speeches and early Christian proclamation have not focused on judgment in light of the book's larger narrative. Three categories of studies deserve particular note: studies of early Christian *kerygma*, rhetorical analyses of the speeches, and studies of the speeches that approach their content as part of the larger narrative's theology but do not offer developed discussions of judgment.

1.2.1.1 Form-Critical Studies and Early Christian Kerygma

Many of the major studies of the Acts speeches until the last three decades of the twentieth century used form-critical methods to construct forms of early Christian *kerygma* to which the Acts speeches could provide windows.⁴ This often involved identifying common elements in the speeches and removing content that appeared dependent on the speeches'

⁴ The questions of the speeches' historiographical function and the degree to which they are Lukan compositions or reproductions of historical speeches have directed another area of research. Henry J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," in *The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920–1933), 5:402–27 and Martin Dibelius, "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography," in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1956), 138–85, which have influenced most later treatments, argue that they are Lukan compositions functioning like the speeches in Thucydides. See Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, vol. 1: *Introduction and 1:1–2:47* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 258–319 for a recent treatment of these questions with references to previous discussions. Keener argues that the speeches are Lukan compositions but that they may accurately represent what their speakers said historically. Two points requiring further consideration, however, are (1) how a scripturally derived Jewish historiography may use speeches in distinction from Hellenistic historiography and (2) what forms of scriptural quotations in the speeches and comparison of spoken words in Luke to Matthew and Mark may indicate concerning Lukan reproduction of speech material. See Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 1–11 for a summary of other studies of the Acts speeches.

narrative context. Close relation to narrative context, in this approach, indicates the secondary nature of speech content, whereas common elements across speeches more likely stem from early *kerygma*.⁵ Since direct statements about judgment appear in some speeches but not others, these studies either do not consider judgment an important part of early *kerygma* or they merely identify the motif as an element of *kerygma* without developing its christological significance. The studies by Martin Dibelius, C.H. Dodd, Ulrich Wilckens, and Donald Lee Jones, among others, illustrate this approach.

Martin Dibelius' *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* includes a discussion of the Acts speeches.⁶ Although Dibelius views the speeches as Lukan compositions, he finds in them a kerygmatic pattern like that in 1 Corinthians 15:3–4 that he thinks differs from what Luke-Acts presents elsewhere. He attributes this pattern to indirect transference of the earliest Christianity *kerygma*. He does not mention judgment as part of this pattern, however, nor does he comment further on Jesus' judgment in Acts 10:42 and 17:31. His essays in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* display the same approach, although the isolation of the speeches from their narrative context is sometimes even more pronounced, particularly in "Paul on the Areopagus."⁷ None of the essays in the book discuss the significance of judgment in Acts 10:42 or 17:31.

Dodd's first lecture in *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* approaches the speeches similarly, offering the content of the "primitive" Christian preaching, which Dodd

⁵ The discussion of the Acts speeches in James D.G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, Christianity in the Making 2 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2009) 87–98 has similarities to this approach, although Dunn's concern is the use of the Acts speeches as sources for history.

⁶ Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 5th ed., ed. Günther Bornkamm (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966), 14–23.

⁷ Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*; "Paul on the Areopagus" is on 26–77; see §5.2 below for further discussion of this essay.

constructs from portions of the epistles and from the speeches in Acts 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, and 13.⁸ While he recognizes judgment by Jesus as a fundamental element of early Christian proclamation expressing Jesus' lordship in Paul's epistles, he considers it of less significance in the Acts speeches.⁹ Dodd does not consider the role of the Acts speeches within the narrative progression of the book, nor does he anywhere mention the Areopagus speech.

Wilckens' places his own study of the *Missionsreden* against the background of the work of Dodd and Dibelius, and he attempts to determine if a selection of speeches displays traditional kerygmatic formulae.¹⁰ He limits his study primarily to six speeches in Acts as *Missionsreden* with brief consideration of three others, placing 17:22–31 among the latter.¹¹ This thorough work more extensively considers Lukan theology across the content of the speeches, but again Wilckens' concern is to determine early *kerygma* and the degree to which it appears in speeches through comparing them with each other. He views the statement of Jesus' judgment in 10:42 as atypical for the speeches and an example of Lukan subordinationist christology, yet he also sees in 17:31 "daß der wiederkehrende Jesus in göttlicher Macht das Gericht über Lebendige und Tote abhalten wird."¹² He does not develop how subordination and the exercise of "göttlicher Macht" in judgment relate to each other.

Finally, Donald Lee Jones' study of christology in the mission speeches in Acts addresses the speeches in Acts 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, and 13 and attempts to locate the theology of these speeches either in an earlier, Jewish Christianity or in a Lukan theology reflecting later

⁸ C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments: Three Lectures*, 3rd ed. (1963; repr., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), 9–42.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 14–16, 40–41.

¹⁰ Ulrich Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 2nd ed., WMANT 5 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1963).

¹¹ The six are 2:14–39; 3:12–26; 4:9–12; 5:30–32; 10:34–43; and 13:16–38, and the additional three are 4:24–30; 14:15–17; and 17:22–31.

¹² Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte*, 85, 108, 215–216.

christological development.¹³ His examination of christology focuses on the titles of Jesus in the speeches, which he argues were all in use at the time of the composition of Acts and therefore do not demonstrate an early, primitive christology.¹⁴ He includes a brief discussion of the Areopagus speech in Acts 17:22–31, but only to argue that it is a Lukan composition.¹⁵ Although including 10:42 as part of the “christological kerygma” in the Acts 10:34–43 speech, his explanation of christological *kerygma* in his summary of elements common to the mission speeches does not mention judgment.¹⁶ Jones mentions 10:42 and 17:31 as a repetition showing emphasis on what Luke deemed important.¹⁷ He recognizes Jesus’ judgment in these two verses as part of a theology of the return of Jesus, and he seems to imply ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν in 10:42 is equivalent to the title υἱὸς θεοῦ by comparison with Romans 1:4.¹⁸ He does not, however, develop the significance of Jesus as a judge.¹⁹

1.2.1.2 Rhetorical Studies of the Acts Speeches

George A. Kennedy’s *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* led to analysis of the speeches in Acts according to the structure and classifications of classical

¹³ Donald Lee Jones, “The Christology of the Missionary Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1966).

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, 126–72 on the titles and the conclusions in 173–75. This is logically flawed in that use of titles at a later time does not mean that they could not have been in use earlier.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63–66.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 78, 82.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 51n4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 131–32, 168n1.

¹⁹ G.N. Stanton’s study of early Christian preaching, *Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching*, SNTSMS 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), argues that the early life of Jesus was important in early Christian preaching, but he also does not develop the significance of what the preaching said about Jesus, including his judgment.

rhetoric.²⁰ As in the case of form-critical studies, however, the interests of these studies led them away from theological analysis of the content of the speeches in light of their place in a larger narrative. Kennedy himself observes rhetorical features in the Acts speeches to illustrate the method of rhetorical criticism, but, although he notes Jesus' role as judge in 10:42 and 17:31, his concern is not to develop its christological significance.²¹ Many subsequent commentaries include structural analyses of the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 according to rhetorical categories, placing the statement about Jesus' judgment in each speech as part of, or immediately preceding, its *peroratio*.²² Other studies, such as those by Robert F. Wolfe, Khiok-Khng Yeo, and Dean Zweck provide rhetorical analyses of the content of individual speeches, further illustrating the tendency to isolate the speeches from their places in the narrative.²³

1.2.1.3 Studies of the Speeches in the Acts Narrative

With the increase in literary-critical research in New Testament studies, more writers have considered the content of the Acts speeches as part of a larger literary whole, although few studies specifically focused on the speeches have done so. Marion L. Soards' *The Speeches in Acts* commendably emphasizes the need to approach the Acts speeches as part of the narrative of Luke-Acts in how they each, with their commonalities and unique content,

²⁰ George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

²¹ Ibid., 114–40.

²² E.g., Daniel Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres (1–12)*, CNT 5a (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2007), 389, who divides Acts 10:34–43 as follows: 34–36 *Propositio*: Le Dieu de tous; 37–39a *Narratio I*: Jésus envoyé à Israël; 39b–42 *Narratio II*: Kérygme pascal; 43 *Peroratio*: Jésus, Seigneur universel.

²³ E.g., on Acts 17:22–31, Robert F. Wolfe, “Rhetorical Elements in the Speeches of Acts 7 and 17,” *JOTT* 6 (1993): 274–83; Khiok-Khng Yeo, “A Rhetorical Study of Acts 17.22–31: What Has Jerusalem to Do with Athens and Beijing?,” *Jian Dao* 1 (1994): 75–107; Dean Zweck, “The *Exordium* of the Areopagus Speech, Acts 17.22, 23,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 94–103.

relate to their narrative surroundings.²⁴ Soards' effort in analyzing all of the speeches in a short volume and the lack of thematic points of focus results in a running commentary on the content of the speeches. The book therefore provides simple observations of similarities across speeches rather than an argument to establish any theological theses. Soards therefore notes Jesus' judgment in 10:42 and 17:31, but he offers no development of their christological significance.²⁵ Other studies of the speeches in the Acts narrative have addressed how the speeches play a narrative function rather than analyzing their content theologically in view of their narrative placement and have not addressed christology. Recent studies have, for example, addressed the significance of the interruption of speeches,²⁶ as well as how Acts uses the speeches of "outsiders" to show God's control, even through non-Christians, of advancing Christianity and its proclamation.²⁷

1.2.2 Studies of Lukan Theology and Christology

Studies of Lukan christology have not offered developed accounts of the christological significance of judgment, and, when they consider Acts at all in their discussions of christology, have given it less attention than Luke. This follows in part from the narrative presence of Jesus throughout the Gospel, but also reflects the perception that Acts has little concern with christology. Dibelius, for example, distinguishes the two books by saying of the latter, "the cultic-christological interest is, for the most part, absent," and "a

²⁴ See esp. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 11–16.

²⁵ Ibid., 75, 99–100.

²⁶ E.g., Joshua D. Garroway, "'Apostolic Irresistibility' and the Interrupted Speeches in Acts," *CBQ* 74 (2012): 738–52, which argues that interruption of speeches in Acts is a device to allow inclusion of many speeches without contradicting the irresistibility of the apostolic message. This proposal misunderstands Luke 21:15 to mean that those who hear the full message will accept it. Better is Daniel Lynwood Smith, "Interrupted Speech in Luke-Acts," *JBL* 134 (2015): 177–91, which proposes that intentional interruptions in Luke-Acts serve the rhetorical purpose of indicating the heightened emotion of their audience due to the significance of the things said.

²⁷ Osvaldo Padilla, *The Speeches of Outsiders in Acts: Poetics, Theology and Historiography*, SNTSMS 144 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

pious interest in the lives of holy men predominates” instead.²⁸ The statements about judgment in Acts 10:42 and 17:31 have not been the subject of focused study.²⁹ Few studies of Lukan theology have developed the significance of judgment for christology even in Luke, and few study exalted figures in other Jewish texts contemporary with Luke-Acts in any depth. Martin Hengel’s *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* and I. Howard Marshall’s *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, for example, contain no discussions of judgment in relation to christology.³⁰ G.W.H. Lampe’s description of Lukan christology makes little mention of judgment.³¹ Even François Bovon’s chapter on christology in *Luke the Theologian* neither includes a discussion of Jesus as a judge, nor mentions any works devoted to this theme.³² While Petr Pokorný mentions the theme of judgment on occasion, including in relation to Jesus as savior, he does not consider its relation to other judgment figures in Jewish literature and only cursorily relates it to scriptural presentation of divine eschatological judgment.³³ Howard Clark Kee’s section on roles of Jesus in his theology of

²⁸ Dibelius, “Style Criticism of the Book of Acts,” in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 4.

²⁹ See §§4.2; 5.2 below.

³⁰ Martin Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1979) only mentions Acts 10:42 and 17:31 once on 60. I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (1970; repr., Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1979) mentions judgment on 95, 96, 124n1 (in Revelation), 159, 165 (Jesus as judge in Acts 10), 176–77 (Acts 10:42 and 17:31), 178 (the Day of the Lord from Joel in Acts 2).

³¹ G.W.H. Lampe, “The Lukan Portrait of Christ,” *NTS* 2 (1956): 160–75. While Lampe associates the sending of Jesus in Acts 3:20 in Peter’s speech with the return of Jesus in judgment due to 10:42 and 17:31, he does not consider the Lukan writings as emphasizing this theme, saying that “this expectation . . . probably plays a relatively minor part in his theology” (162). In New Testament theology outside of Luke-Acts see, e.g., G.B. Caird, *New Testament Theology*, completed and edited by L.D. Hurst (1994; repr., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). Caird does not address the christological significance of Jesus as a judge anywhere and only briefly mentions Jesus playing a role in judgment. See, e.g., 195–96, which speaks of a temporary and non-eschatological judgment of Peter by Jesus, and 251, which mentions eschatological judgment but not Jesus serving as a judge.

³² François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-five Years of Research (1950–2005)*, 2nd rev. ed. (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2006), 123–223.

³³ Petr Pokorný, *Theologie der lukanischen Schriften*, FRLANT 174 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). Mentions of Jesus as a judge appear on 13, 37, 68, 99, 106, 107, 108, 119, 130, 131, 152, 174, and 178, as well as throughout the discussion of Acts 17:16–33 on 132–36. He relates judgment by Jesus to Yahweh’s judgment in scripture on 106 and 135. His limited development of the theme includes Jesus judging

Acts mentions judgment briefly in discussion of the titles “Christ” and “Son of Man”, but without development.³⁴ He also notes Acts 10:42 and 17:31 when mentioning the future role of Jesus, but he does not develop discussion of them beyond noting that Jesus is both judge and the model after which others will be judged.³⁵ The following works, however, contribute to a foundation in the research of Lukan christology from which this study can proceed. Their discussions of Jesus’ judgment seem to consider the theme either a part of Jesus’ messianic activity or of Jesus acting as Yahweh without developing either idea. They thereby anticipate my own conclusions.

1.2.2.1 Hans Conzelmann

Hans Conzelmann’s classic *Die Mitte der Zeit*, while focused primarily on the Gospel of Luke, assumes theological continuity of ideas in Acts, including in the speeches. Conzelmann observes that two kinds of christological statements seem to occur in Luke-Acts: “In der einen erscheint die Distanz zwischen Gott und Christus; in der anderen erscheinen beide hinsichtlich ihres *Wirkens* weithin als identisch.”³⁶ He attributes these to different stages of development.³⁷ Conzelmann notes Jesus’ role as judge in Luke-Acts, but only as that

as the representative of God and judging from his “Schlüsselposition” after the ascension in view of God’s full approval of his life (68, 152).

³⁴ Howard Clark Kee, *Good News to the Ends of the Earth: The Theology of Acts* (London: SCM Press, 1990), 10–26. The only mentions of judgment in this section are an undeveloped statement about the ruler in Ps 2 crushing enemies on 12 and two sentences about the use of the Son of Man title when Luke speaks of Jesus as a judge on 13.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 27. Other mentions of 10:42 in the book are on 29, 53 (incorrectly identified as 10:43), 89; other mentions of 17:31 occur on 64–65.

³⁶ Hans Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas*, 3rd ed., BHT 17 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960), 163–64, quotation from 164, italics in original.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 163–64.

to which God appoints Jesus in his exaltation for his eschatological return and, with references to Acts 10:42 and 17:31, by which Jesus acts according to the plan of God.³⁸

1.2.2.2 Darrell L. Bock

Darrell L. Bock's *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern* proposes that the christological use of scriptural texts in Luke-Acts presents Jesus first as a royal davidic figure in the early chapters of Luke and then as divine "Lord" by doing what God alone does, a progression that culminates in Acts 10 and 13.³⁹ Bock's treatment of Jesus' role as judge is brief but significant. He considers the phrase *κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν* in 10:42 as part of the culmination of this progression in that it expresses a "divine prerogative" of Jesus and presents him as "more than Messiah."⁴⁰ Bock does not consider Acts 17:22–31 in his discussion of the christological use of scripture, which ends with Acts 13.⁴¹

1.2.2.3 Mark L. Strauss

Mark L. Strauss' significant study of davidic messianism in Luke-Acts approaches Luke-Acts as unified in its theology of Jesus as the messiah.⁴² His attention to Acts, however, consists of one chapter discussing the speeches in 2:14–41; 13:6–41; and 15:13–21. Strauss seems to view Jesus' judgment in 10:42 and 17:31 as part of his messianic activity since he refers to these verses as showing the final fulfilment of Jesus baptizing with fire as the

³⁸ Ibid., 141–42, 164, 172.

³⁹ See the summary in Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lucan Old Testament Christology*, JSNTSup 12 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 261–79, esp. 262–70.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 234–37. The messianic concept that Jesus exceeds, according to Bock, is that of administering a judgment in "political or administrative" form.

⁴¹ Bock repeats the assertion that Acts does not use the OT for christology after Acts 13 repeatedly, e.g., at *ibid.*, 12, 215, 238, 261, 277, 279, as though it were self-evident.

⁴² Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Theology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

messiah in Luke 3:15–17 and the consummation of the “kingdom of God.”⁴³ He provides no further discussion of judgment in these speeches.

1.2.2.4 H. Douglas Buckwalter

H. Douglas Buckwalter’s study of christology in Luke considers the christology of Luke-Acts one of lordship for the discipleship of Christians that encompasses the other elements of the Lukan presentation of Jesus.⁴⁴ Buckwalter draws attention to Jesus acting as a judge several times.⁴⁵ He views Jesus’ eschatological judgment as a function of his lordship and suggestively cites Acts 10:42 and 17:31 as showing Jesus’ uniqueness as like Yahweh’s uniqueness.⁴⁶ He does not, however, develop how Yahweh and Jesus uniquely have the role of judge, nor does he relate Jesus’ role as judge clearly with either divine authority or Jesus’ identity as the messiah. He also provides no comparison with other Jewish judgment figures.

In another essay on christology in Acts, Buckwalter argues that Luke-Acts presents Jesus as equal to Yahweh through its descriptions of him and his actions, but that Jesus also appears unexpectedly as a slave ministering to his people.⁴⁷ This essay, however, nowhere mentions Jesus’ role as judge aside from one sentence: “But Luke greatly enriches this portrait [of Jesus as equal to Yahweh] by presenting Jesus not only as deity who is all-knowing, powerful and present, Saviour, Lord of the Spirit, Judge of all the earth and so on, but by showing that this kind of deity, by nature, behaves toward his people as one who waits

⁴³ Ibid., 202, 356.

⁴⁴ See esp. H. Douglas Buckwalter, *The Character and Purpose of Luke’s Christology*, SNTSMS 89 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 74–75, 231–71, 281–84, esp. 258–72.

⁴⁵ E.g., Ibid., 116, 130, 162, 209, 280.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 185, 209. Jesus’ role as judge, according to Buckwalter, is one of three functions of Jesus in his exaltation in Luke-Acts. See 215–227, 280.

⁴⁷ H. Douglas Buckwalter, “The Divine Saviour,” in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 107–123.

on tables.”⁴⁸ While suggesting that Jesus’ judgment has significant christological implications, Buckwalter does not develop how it does so nor respond to possible objections to his interpretation.

1.2.2.5 Christopher M. Tuckett

Christopher M. Tuckett’s assessment of the study of christology in Luke-Acts challenges the attempt to establish a unified christology and attribute it to the real author rather than implied author.⁴⁹ He targets this objection more at synthetic studies of Lukan christology than readings of specific passages, as I am offering in this study. In part responding to Bock and Buckwalter, Tuckett emphasizes redefined messianism contrary to Jewish messianic expectations as the most prominent christological theme of Luke-Acts over against Jesus as κύριος in a way that associates him with what is unique to God. Tuckett mentions judgment only once, when he says that it does not indicate a “high” christology on the basis of Abel’s activity in *Testament of Abraham* 13.⁵⁰

1.2.2.6 C. Kevin Rowe

C. Kevin Rowe’s significant contributions to the study of Luke-Acts do not consider the place of judgment in Lukan christology. He devotes one of his monographs, *Early Narrative Christology*, to Lukan christology, arguing for a “high” κύριος christology in the Gospel of Luke by which Jesus and God are distinguishable, yet have a shared identity as

⁴⁸ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁹ Christopher M. Tuckett, “The Christology of Luke-Acts,” in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. J. Verheyden, BETL 142 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 133–64.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 155. *T. Ab.* distinguishes Abel’s activity from God’s final judgment, however.

κύριος that emerges in the narrative progression of the book.⁵¹ Since the volume focuses on κύριος in Luke, it does not address the significance of judgment. Although Rowe includes an excursus on Acts 2:36, he acknowledges that a comparable study in Acts would require another volume.⁵² The book mentions neither Acts 10:42 nor 17:31. His later monograph on Acts, *World Upside Down*, argues that Christian proclamation in Acts claims a particular truth that advances a comprehensive understanding of reality and way of life, inevitably resulting in conflict with other truth claims and ways of life.⁵³ Although the truth that Acts advances concerns Jesus, Rowe does not focus attention on judgment. The book includes 10:42 while quoting 10:39, 41–43, but does not say anything about judgment in the passage, and its discussion of the Areopagus speech never relates judgment to christology.⁵⁴ Rowe's most recent monograph, *One True Life*, makes no mention of Jesus' judgment, Acts 10:42, or Acts 17:31 in its section on Luke and Acts.⁵⁵ He affirms Jesus as sharing in the identity of the one God of Israel but largely summarizes rather than advances his discussion of Lukan christology in his previous two monographs.

1.2.2.7 Other Studies

A number of other studies of the Gospels mention judgment, as do some studies of topics in Luke-Acts besides christology, but because of their different topics, those in both categories do not develop the christological significance of judgment in Luke-Acts. Among

⁵¹ C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke*, BZNW 139 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006). At times, the ambiguity of the referent of κύριος even serves to communicate this shared single identity.

⁵² Ibid., 189–96, see the statement on 189 on the need for another book.

⁵³ C. Kavin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵⁴ Ibid., 27–41, 120–21; also the mentions of 17:31 on 162, 170.

⁵⁵ C. Kavin Rowe, *One True Life: The Stoics and Early Christians as Rival Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 112–42.

the former, Sigurd Grindheim's study of Jesus' self-understanding includes a chapter on Jesus as judge.⁵⁶ Grindheim spends most of the chapter discussing the authenticity and form of Matthew 25:34–46, leaving two paragraphs to a description of Jesus' judgment in the passage.⁵⁷ Grindheim's discussion of judgment figures in Second Temple Judaism briefly describes the roles of the messiah in various texts, the "Son of God" in 4Q246, Abel in *Testament of Abraham*, Melchizedek in *11QMelchizedek*, and the son of man in the Similitudes of Enoch, distinguishing them from Jesus in that their judgment is not ultimate or that it derives from God's judgment.⁵⁸ Derivation from God's judgment, however, does not necessarily distinguish these figures from the description of Jesus' judgment in the speeches in Acts, since both 10:42 and 17:31 describe Jesus as appointed by God to his role as judge.⁵⁹ In the latter category, studies of politics in Luke-Acts, such as those collected in Richard J. Cassidy and Philip J. Scharper's *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*, do not address Jesus' judgment in relation to christology at all.⁶⁰ This absence is despite the fact that Acts features judgment, and particularly the presentation of Jesus' authority as judge and lord, as it describes the trials of its protagonists before judges of various kinds.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Sigurd Grindheim, *God's Equal: What Can We Know about Jesus' Self-Understanding?*, LNTS 446 (2011; repr., London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 77–100.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 92–93.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 93–99.

⁵⁹ Another study focusing on judgment in Gospel texts is John S. Kloppenborg, "The Power and Surveillance of the Divine Judge in the Early Synoptic Tradition," in *Christ and the Emperor: The Gospel Evidence*, ed. Gilbert van Belle and Joseph Verheyden, BTS 20 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 147–84, which, from a hypothetical reconstructed Q, recognizes judgment as a function of a ruler and distinguishes between ruling and judicial functions of Jewish figures called "judges." He does not distinguish clearly between stages in the judgment process and thereby sometimes collapses together activities associated with judgment and judgment itself.

⁶⁰ Richard J. Cassidy and Philip J. Scharper, eds., *Political Issues in Luke-Acts* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983).

⁶¹ Jonathan Kienzler, *The Fiery Holy Spirit: The Spirit's Relationship with Judgment in Luke-Acts*, JPTSUP 44 (Dorset: Deo Publishing, 2015), which presents the Spirit in relation to the judgment that Jesus administers and includes statements about Jesus' nature as judge, such as by identifying him as "appointed as divine judge at Pentecost" and summarizing that "Jesus is the judge of all: the church, the world, the living, the

1.2.3 Studies of Early Christology

Although studies of early christology have given greater attention to judgment than those of the speeches in Acts and Lukan theology, none has extensively addressed judgment in Acts' speeches, and the methods of these studies need adjustment. Earlier studies that view early christology as progressing in development from a primitive Jewish Christianity to a later "high" christology through encounter with non-Jewish culture suggest that judgment relates both to Jesus' identity as messiah as well as, in later texts, his divinity, but their discussions of judgment are often brief. More recent studies, including those advocating an early "high" christology, emphasize the similarity of Jesus to other figures in Jewish literature but do not carefully describe what distinguishes these figures within their shared activity. The following survey first discusses studies viewing early Christian theology as developing from an early or primitive "low" Jewish christology to a later "high" christology. I then consider more recent proposals of early "high" christology. The survey concludes with three final recent studies that emphasize similarities between Jesus in New Testament texts and figures in other Jewish literature yet reach very different conclusions.

1.2.3.1 Judgment in Christological Development from "Low" to "High" Christology:

Bousset, Bultmann, and Dunn

The attention Wilhelm Bousset gives to judgment in his *Kyrios Christos* renders the lack of attention to judgment in more recent studies of christology surprising. He associates Jesus' judgment both with early messianism and with subsequently developing divine christology. Bousset claims that two distinct ideas of messianism were present in Judaism at the time of Jesus, an earthly Son of David and a heavenly Son of Man, both of which included judgment activity. The former would appear to rule the world from Jerusalem with

dead, and over all spiritual beings" on 152, but because of its pneumatological focus, Kienzler's study does not further develop how Jesus' role as judge relates to christology.

justice and would remove the power of Rome, while the latter would be a universal eschatological judge accompanying Israel's God.⁶² Although Jesus' role as judge was part of the christology of "the Palestinian primitive community," his judgment was one of the factors contributing to the progressive development of divine christology.⁶³ Bousset, citing Acts 10:42 and 17:31, claims that judgment was a persistent element from "primitive" Christianity, but one by which Jesus came to appear where God had previously.⁶⁴ Acts 10:42 represents the final stage of development.⁶⁵ Despite these citations of Acts, however, Bousset's volume as a whole gives little attention to Acts.⁶⁶

Rudolf Bultmann, like Bousset, perceives two titles expressing distinct ideas from an early Jewish messianism: the Son of Man title, associated with a pre-existent being from heaven who would come as judge, and the messiah title, associated with a future davidic king.⁶⁷ In his view, these two ideas conflated in the earliest, Jewish church.⁶⁸ Jesus' future coming as a judge was thus part of a Son of Man theology and Jesus held this role as the messiah in the theology of the earliest church.⁶⁹ Bultmann locates an increased emphasis on

⁶² Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 32. See also 212, 218, 236–37 on the Son of Man as a judge.

⁶³ Ibid., 317.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 381–82. Bousset sees this replacement in statements about judgment as a characteristic of post-apostolic diaspora Christianity. See also 47, 372n82, 378.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 48n51.

⁶⁶ While Johannes Weiss similarly explains the term *χριστός* in Acts as a royal title that has moved from an early kingdom in popular expectation to a heavenly kingdom in which Jesus' reign as messiah begins with his exaltation, he does not address judgment as an activity of the messiah in this discussion. See *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 23–24.

⁶⁷ Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, vol. 1, trans. Kendrick Grobel (London: SCM Press, 1952), 48–49. For a contemporary of Bultmann arguing against a strict division of two conceptions of the messiah, see, e.g., M. de Jonge, "The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus," *NovT* 8 (1966): 132–48, who limits his study to texts containing the term *משיח* or equivalents.

⁶⁸ Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 52–53.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 33–34.

imminent divine judgment of the world in the Hellenistic church as part of the proclamation of God in its encounter with Gentiles, for which he cites Acts 17:31 as an illustration.⁷⁰ This proclamation ties God's role as judge of the world to his identity as the creator.⁷¹ He observes, however, emphasis on God as judge and Jesus as judge and repeatedly states that the texts in which they appear seem to show no effort to explain how both can be true.⁷² Bultmann himself also does not resolve what this may mean for christology in this early Christian proclamation.⁷³

More recently, James D.G. Dunn, in addition to his study of early christology in *Christology in the Making*, in which he also argues for a gradual development from a "low" christology to a "high" christology visible across New Testament texts, provides a short study devoted to the christological significance of the role of Jesus as a judge in Paul.⁷⁴ Dunn notes

⁷⁰ Ibid., 73–77.

⁷¹ Ibid., 73, 77–78.

⁷² Ibid., 78.

⁷³ Another, more recent, proposal for development from early "low" christology is P.M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology; The Edward Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham, 1985–86* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1991). Casey argues that the divinity of Jesus was a late development incompatible with Jewish identity, the teaching of Jesus, and the teaching of the apostles. Judgment plays very little role in Casey's discussion. He never addresses the significance of Jesus' role as judge in any New Testament texts, nor does he mention Acts 10:42 or 17:31.

⁷⁴ James D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 2nd ed. (1989; repr., London: SCM Press, 2003); James D.G. Dunn, "Jesus the Judge: Further Thoughts on Paul's Christology and Soteriology," in *The Convergence of Theology: A Festschrift Honoring Gerald O'Collins, S.J.*, ed. Daniel Kendall and Stephen T. Davis (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 34–54. Dunn's essay is one of three works from the past two decades that studies judgment in relation to christology in particular NT texts. The other two, Alistair I. Wilson, *When Will These Things Happen?: A Study of Jesus as Judge in Matthew 21–25*, PBM (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004) and Alan Charles Blackwood, "The Theology of Judgement in the Fourth Gospel: Christology and Eschatology in John 5" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2005), establish that passages present Jesus as a judge, but leave the significance of this role largely undeveloped. Wilson argues that Matt 21–25 presents Jesus as a judge through portrayal of him both as a prophet in the scriptural prophetic tradition and as a sage according to Jewish wisdom, and that these chapters coherently display Jesus exercising both present and eschatological judgment functions. See particularly the chapters "Jesus as Judge in Matthew: As Prophet," and "Jesus the Judge in Matthew: As Sage" in Wilson, *When Will These Things Happen?*, 81–174 and 175–247, for his detailed argument. Wilson suggests further christological implications of Jesus' judgment on 172, 204, 230, 247, and 255 by mentioning, e.g., "a unique relationship to Yahweh," "Christological significance left undeveloped by Borg," and "a position unlike any prophet or sage before him." Blackwood approaches the theme of Jesus as judge through arguing for the coherence of Jesus' discourse in John 5. He presents the problems he addresses as both christological and eschatological, and like Wilson addresses the problem of realized and future eschatology. Like Wilson,

the general lack of study of Jesus' role as judge in christology.⁷⁵ He considers judgment by Jesus a natural development of God's delegation of judgment to certain figures in scripture and other Jewish literature. The examples he provides for delegation of final judgment are Enoch in *Jubilees* 4:17–24, in *1 Enoch* 12–16, and in the Similitudes; Enoch and Abel in *Testament of Abraham* [B] 10, 11; Abel and the tribes of Israel in *Testament of Abraham* [A] 13; Melchizedek in *11QMelchizedek*; and Israel's judgment of other nations in *Testament of Abraham* [A] 13:6, Daniel 7:22, *Jubilees* 32:19, 1QpHab 5:4, and Wisdom 3:8.⁷⁶ He further notes the similarity of Matthew 19:28/Luke 22:30 and 1 Corinthians 6:2 to these last texts in applying the role of judge to the apostles and to believers respectively.⁷⁷

Dunn emphasizes that Jesus similarly receives his judging function by delegation. In addition to Pauline texts, he cites Acts 10:42; 17:31; and John 5:22, 27, reasoning that therefore “there is no scope for the thought that Jesus as judge has replaced God, far less usurped God's role.”⁷⁸ Dunn even suggests the possibility of stages in the final judgment: “Conceivably different judgments or, rather, different stages in the one (final) judgment are in view (if *T. Abr.* [A] 13 provides any sort of parallel).”⁷⁹ While Dunn observes many figures judging or participating in some stage of the judgment process, his treatment does not give

Blackwood makes suggestive statements concerning the implications of Jesus' role as judge without providing specific definition. For example, he comments about 5:17–23 that “Jesus is endowed with the divine prerogatives” and “is possessed of divine attributes” on 213, but he does not develop these ideas.

⁷⁵ Dunn, “Jesus the Judge,” 34, 52n2 provides as an example of his statement that “it is a subject that has attracted little close attention in recent christological studies” his own *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998). His extensive study of early Christian history that includes discussion of Acts, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, also does not discuss judgment in the speeches in relation to christology aside from saying that Abel and Enoch are analogous and that a human agent at the final judgment would have been a familiar idea within Judaism on 689.

⁷⁶ Dunn, “Jesus the Judge,” 35–40.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 44–45, quote from 45.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

sufficient attention to the differences among them. First, Dunn labels various activities associated with the judgment process, such as execution of a sentence, as judgment without distinguishing them. Second, God's delegation of judgment to various figures does not account for the presentation of Jesus in the speeches as a unique judge. Acts 10:42 emphasizes Jesus' singularity in judgment. If other texts present their figures as unique, what makes them unique needs to be considered to see how it compares with how Jesus appears in the proclamation in Acts.

1.2.3.2 Early "High" Christology: Hurtado, Bauckham, and Henrichs-Tarasenkova

Since the 1980's, several scholars have argued for an early "high" christology by which the earliest tradition about Jesus in the New Testament texts presents him as divine while emphasizing the Jewishness of early Christianity and including significant treatment of Qumran literature and pseudepigraphal literature. Discussion of the work of another so-called "*neue religionsgeschichtliche Schule*" scholar, C. Kevin Rowe, appears above in §1.2.2. As noted there, since Rowe focuses on the use of the title *κύριος*, he does not discuss judgment.

Larry W. Hurtado's various studies of christology in early Christianity focus on the veneration of Jesus. He argues that early veneration of Jesus paralleled the unique veneration of God in Judaism. This produced a "binitarian" form of early Christian worship that represented a "mutation" of previous Judaism.⁸⁰ By identifying indications in New Testament texts that this veneration preceded their composition and was not a significant matter of contention among early Christians, Hurtado argues for the universal presence of "high" christology in early Christianity. He identifies the uniqueness of Jesus in comparison with

⁸⁰ Most significantly Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2003) and *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 3rd ed. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015). The third edition of *One God, One Lord* adds to the 1988 edition, which spearheaded much discussion of early "high" christology, an epilogue interacting with subsequent research and affirming the soundness of the original study.

other figures in contemporary Jewish texts. In the epilogue to the third edition of *One God, One Lord*, he affirms that, while “chief agent” figures of various kinds appear in this other literature, indicating a tradition from which early Christianity probably drew, “none . . . gives us a full precedent or analogy for the more thoroughgoing way that the exalted Jesus was linked with God in early Christian devotion, and neither individually nor collectively do they represent a major mutation in ancient Jewish monotheism comparable to the cultic veneration of the exalted Jesus.”⁸¹ My own conclusions largely affirm this statement with regard to Jesus’ activity as a judge in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 while also exploring how the uniquely exalted view of Jesus as a judge relates to messianic identity. Hurtado’s work does not focus on questions of the significance of judgment for christology.⁸²

Richard Bauckham’s contribution to the present discussion is his discussion of “high” christology in relation to divine identity, particularly in *God Crucified*.⁸³ Bauckham argues that “high Christology was possible within a Jewish monotheistic context, not by applying to Jesus a Jewish category of semi-divine intermediary status, but by identifying Jesus directly with the one God of Israel, including Jesus in the unique identity of this one God.”⁸⁴ Bauckham seeks to show how New Testament texts present Jesus as having the characteristics or attributes, and performing the activities, uniquely associated with the identity of Israel’s God in the context of Second Temple Judaism.⁸⁵ Bauckham distinguishes

⁸¹ Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 154–55.

⁸² In personal conversation, Hurtado expressed that he was unaware of any significant studies in this area and affirmed the need for research on the subject.

⁸³ Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism & Christology in the New Testament* (1998; repr., Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), included in Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: ‘God Crucified’ and Other Studies on the New Testament’s Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 1–59. References are to the latter.

⁸⁴ Bauckham, “God Crucified,” 3.

⁸⁵ See esp. *ibid.*, 7–11 on the unique identity of God.

his proposal, on the one hand, from works that exclude the divinity of Jesus from Jewish monotheism as a premise and thus see it as a late, Gentile development external to Judaism.⁸⁶ On the other, he distinguishes it from “revisionist views of Second Temple Judaism which in one way or another deny its strictly monotheistic character,” as through proposing lesser degrees of divinity, or lower divine status, for mediator figures or divine attributes.⁸⁷ He states that he does not consider them “of any decisive importance for the study of early Christology.”⁸⁸ He identifies only one such figure aside from Jesus whom he thinks shares in the divine identity, the son of man figure in the Similitudes of Enoch, although Bauckham considers this participation incomplete in that the rule and judgment of this figure, in Bauckham’s assessment, does not precede the time of eschatological judgment.⁸⁹ *God Crucified* does not otherwise discuss judgment, nor provide any discussion of Acts.

Bauckham’s work provides divine identity as a tool for distinguishing Israel’s God in his uniqueness from other figures for this study. Other figures may display similarities to God without participating in the divine identity, however, if the area of similarity does not constitute part of God’s uniqueness. Where a figure appears in a way uniquely associated with Yahweh in texts available, however, the presentation of that figure may suggest participation in the divine identity.

Nina Henrichs-Tarasenkova, in *Luke’s Christology of Divine Identity*, uses Bauckham’s work to argue for a christology of divine identity throughout Luke-Acts, which she approaches as a coherent narrative.⁹⁰ Her discussion of judgment, however, is limited.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 2–3.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁰ Nina Henrichs-Tarasenkova, *Luke’s Christology of Divine Identity*, LNTS 542 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016). See her correction of Conzelmann not reading Luke-Acts as a coherent narrative on 21.

While she argues from the *Nunc Dimittis* that Jesus' role as judge is one element of Luke-Acts that presents Jesus as having the status and functions of Yahweh so as to present him as sharing Yahweh's identity, she does not clarify what distinguishes Jesus' judgment from other non-divine judges.⁹¹ She again appeals to Jesus' judgment in John's baptism, saying that it puts Jesus in the place of Yahweh by speaking of Jesus as clearing his threshing floor when Yahweh is the Lord of the harvest in 10:2, and she here cites Acts 17:31 for this transformation of the Day of Yahweh to the "Day of Jesus."⁹² Jesus as messiah performs Yahweh's activity of judging.⁹³ She does not develop these assertions further, however, and the book never mentions Acts 10:42. She also does not discuss eschatological judgment figures in other Jewish literature.

1.2.3.3 Three Studies of Similarity: Boyarin, Kirk, and Fletcher-Louis

Three final studies illustrate the need for further work on christology in the Gospels and Acts through the different conclusions they reach despite their similarity in method: Daniel Boyarin's *The Jewish Gospels*, J.R. Daniel Kirk's *A Man Attested by God*, and Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis' *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*.⁹⁴ All three seek to read New Testament texts in the context of Second Temple Judaism, and they all emphasize similarities between the presentation of Jesus in New Testament texts and that of extraordinary figures in other Jewish texts.

⁹¹ Ibid., 166–67.

⁹² Ibid., 168–69. She also mentions Acts 17:31 on 170, but without adding any additional information or analysis.

⁹³ Ibid., 169.

⁹⁴ Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: New Press, 2012); J.R. Daniel Kirk, *A Man Attested by God: The Human Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2016); Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 94 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

Boyarin argues that the presentation of Jesus in the New Testament Gospels fits within a diversity already present within Judaism and that their form of Christianity does not extend beyond the boundaries of Second Temple Judaism, including in “the notion of a dual godhead with a Father and a Son, the notion of a Redeemer who himself will be both God and man, and the notion that this Redeemer would suffer and die as part of the salvational process.”⁹⁵ For him, the similarity of Jesus to other figures indicates a prevalence of differentiated monotheism in Second Temple Judaism. Thus, Jesus’ divinity in Christianity is not exceptional. The main figures outside of the Gospels that Boyarin considers are those in Daniel 7, 4 *Ezra*, and the Similitudes of Enoch.⁹⁶

Boyarin considers the figure in Daniel 7 to be divine since he rides on the clouds and sits on a throne beside the Ancient of Days.⁹⁷ He argues that the two figures come from earlier Israelite religion and correspond to El and Baal, but that the deities combined to yield a differentiated monotheism.⁹⁸ The figure from Daniel 7 further combined with davidic

⁹⁵ Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels*, 158. Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 33, 148 considers Boyarin inconsistent in the note in *The Jewish Gospels*, 55 where he mentions the distinction between functional and ontological divinity in Adela Yarbro Collins, “‘How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?’: A Reply,” in *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity; Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal*, ed. David B. Capes, April D. DeConick, Helen K. Bond, and Troy A. Miller (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007), 57. Boyarin says that he is arguing for the former, which Kirk considers contrary to the thrust of Boyarin’s argument. Boyarin, however, claims, “I believe the very distinction between ‘functional’ and ‘ontological’ is a product of later Greek reflection on the Gospels.” For Boyarin, it seems, these categories are not separate in the Gospels and other texts he discusses. He argues for functional divinity (which would include ontological divinity in the texts he discusses) in that the evidence he uses to make his case largely concern the functions of Jesus and other figures rather than statements about ontology. Boyarin’s argument in “Enoch, Ezra, and the Jewishness of ‘High Christology’,” in *‘Fourth Ezra’ and ‘Second Baruch’: Reconstruction after the Fall*, ed. Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini with the collaboration of Jason M. Zurawski, JSJSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 337–61 does not include this qualification.

⁹⁶ Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels*, 31–52, 73–101. Boyarin presents largely the same argument, in places with identical wording, in “Enoch, Ezra, and the Jewishness of ‘High Christology’,” 337–61, extending it in 357–61 to account for the worship of Metatron during the Rabbinic period.

⁹⁷ Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels*, 39–40.

⁹⁸ Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels*, 44–45, 49–50. See also, at greater length, Daniel Boyarin, “Daniel 7, Intertextuality, and the History of Israel’s Cult,” *HTR* 105 (2012): 139–62.

messianism, resulting in a future “divine-human Messiah.”⁹⁹ The figures in the Similitudes of Enoch and *4 Ezra* illustrate this divine-human messiah within Second Temple Jewish monotheism. The features of the figure in the former that indicate divinity are pre-existence, reception of worship, and position on a throne of glory.¹⁰⁰ In *4 Ezra*, he argues for the divinity of the messiah from his riding on the clouds, his association with fire, and the apparent use of Isaiah 66:20 in *4 Ezra* 13:12–13.¹⁰¹ He mentions judgment in so far as the son of man figure judges from a throne in the Similitudes of Enoch,¹⁰² but otherwise does not emphasize it in either text.

Much within my argument shows compatibility with Boyarin’s contention that early Christianity was not radically separate from Judaism, but rather was part of Jewish diversity in its exegesis, halakha, and messianism. My argument does, however, press against what I think to be a flattening of distinctions. The presentation of Jesus’ role as judge in Acts, in comparison to other contemporary figures, emerges as distinct, as the exegesis of the Acts speeches will show. Daniel 7 and other scriptural texts may indeed have contributed to a differentiated monotheism for Christians and some non-Christian Jews, although I question the extent to which non-Christian texts give evidence for the pervasiveness of such differentiated monotheism at the time of Christianity’s beginning.

Kirk emphasizes similarities between Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels and figures including Adam, Moses, kings, priests (including Melchizedek in *11QMelch*), “the son of man,” and “the community of the elect” in Jewish literature ranging from scriptural texts

⁹⁹ Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 77–81.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 98.

¹⁰² Ibid., 87.

through to pseudepigraphal texts as late as *3 Enoch*.¹⁰³ Kirk classifies all of these as “idealized human figures” and argues that this category can account for everything the Synoptic Gospels say about Jesus such that they nowhere suggest Jesus’ divinity nor present him as divine.¹⁰⁴ Kirk indicates that he sees the same presentation of Jesus in the Acts speeches, although he does not mention the speeches in Acts 10 and 17.¹⁰⁵ Kirk’s main contention with the approach of studies arguing for a christology by which Jesus shares in divinity in some New Testament texts is that they do “not adequately appreciate the wide-ranging possibilities open for idealized human figures in early Judaism.”¹⁰⁶ Kirk particularly faults Bauckham’s application of the concept of divine identity, distinguishing between identification “with God” and “as God” and arguing that the texts he discusses identify figures “with God” and present them as “participating in the divine identity” without identifying them “as God.”¹⁰⁷ Although the few mentions of judgment in the book are not specific, Kirk views Jesus’ role as a judge in the Synoptic Gospels to be part of his role as the messiah.¹⁰⁸

Several problems in Kirk’s work indicate the need for a different approach in considering judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17. First, like Boyarin, Kirk emphasizes similarity without sufficiently distinguishing the differences within that similarity. The

¹⁰³ Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 44–176. Under “son of man,” Kirk includes the figures from Dan 7, the Similitudes of Enoch, *4 Ezra*, *3 Enoch*, and *4QPrayer of Enosh*.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 45 defines “idealized human figures” as “non-angelic, non-preexistent human beings, of the past, present, or anticipated future, who are depicted in textual or other artifacts as playing some unique role in representing God to the rest of the created realm, or in representing some aspect of the created realm before God.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 25.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., ibid., 31, from which the quotation is taken. Kirk himself says that the christology he presents is “high”, but he uses the term differently from other studies.

¹⁰⁷ The discussion of *4 Ezra* in ibid., 157 is illustrative.

¹⁰⁸ It mentions judgment on ibid., 73, 114 (both in the Animal Apocalypse), 115–116 (4Q246), 120 (summary), 122–123 (11Q13), 138 (1Q167), 151–53 (Similitudes of Enoch), 157 (*4 Ezra*), 169 (1QM). On Jesus judging as the messiah, see, e.g., ibid., 561–62 on Luke 13:24–30.

primary similarities he emphasizes are that various human figures, like God, rule and have glory, leading him to conclude that Jesus' rule and glory indicate humanity, but he does not distinguish how God's glory and rule may be unique.¹⁰⁹ This problem is particularly egregious when he speaks of "idealized humans" creating. He states that Moses displays creative power in the Exodus events and that Sirach 50 describes Simon as participating in the creation of the temple, and he thereby reasons that the activity of creation does not indicate anything beyond humanity.¹¹⁰ He does not, however, give due attention to the uniqueness of God as the creator of the heavens and the earth, as in Genesis 1. While commenting on Mark 8:38, Kirk raises the question of whether or not Jesus' role as "judge in the final judgment would amount to an indication that Jesus has so encroached on the divine prerogative of judgment that he is being depicted as God," but he quickly dismisses this possibility by appealing to 1 Corinthians 6:2–3.¹¹¹ He does not consider, however, how the judgment activity in 1 Corinthians 6:2–3 may differ from that of Jesus in the final judgment.

Second, Kirk appears to misrepresent Bauckham's concept of divine identity. He claims that Jesus' identification with God is analogous to Isreal's, Moses', or the patriarchs' identification with God, and that therefore such an identification does not indicate any nature aside from human.¹¹² Kirk's identification "with God" seems to mean the identity of an individual or group derives in part from relation to God and that the individual or group represents or is particularly associated with God in some way. Kirk even uses identity language with negative attributes when he says of Ezekiel, "the identification of God with the

¹⁰⁹ E.g., *ibid.*, 71, 112, 119, 124–25, 128, 151–52, 155–56.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 80, 127.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 311. He notes Jesus' judgment in Matt 16:24–28 but associates it with human judgment figures in *T. Ab.* 11–13, *11QMelch*, the Animal Apocalypse, Matt 19:28, and 1 Cor 6:2–3 without noting the differences between the presentation of Jesus' judgment and that of these other figures on 331–32. He also discusses judgment, particularly of demons, on 430–33.

¹¹² Note the introductory statements in Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 6–7, 10–11.

people means that God is identified with Israel's failure, weakness, defeat, and exile," and he summarizes his discussion of Israel and divine identity by saying, "God's identity is often bound up with the people of Israel, they representing God to the world or the world to God, or else standing as a proxy for the glory or shame of God among the nations."¹¹³ This differs from Bauckham's use of "divine identity," which concerns "the unique, defining characteristics by which Jewish monotheism identified God as unique."¹¹⁴

Finally, Kirk relies on questionable dichotomies. Kirk devotes a chapter, for example, to demonstrating that "son of God" in the Synoptic Gospels is a designation of Jesus as a human messiah.¹¹⁵ This does not mean, however, that a text referring to a figure as "son of God" could not also present that figure in ways emphasizing something other than humanity. If texts may present figures as human and also in some respect participating in divine identity, which Kirk himself affirms for some other New Testament texts,¹¹⁶ this raises the question of whether study of particular characteristics of a figure might simultaneously point toward a particular human identity and particularly divine characteristics.

Fletcher-Louis likewise emphasizes similarity between Jesus and other exceptional figures in Jewish literature, but for him these similarities indicate that Luke-Acts presents Jesus as angelomorphic. Fletcher-Louis considers elements in Luke-Acts that he contends present Jesus in an angelomorphic manner, including Peter falling at Jesus' feet after the miraculous catch of fish, Jesus' appearance at the transfiguration, the post-ascension appearances of Jesus, and the question of some Pharisees in Acts 23:9 εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν

¹¹³ Ibid., 163–164.

¹¹⁴ Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, ix. Kirk's critique of Bauckham in *A Man Attested by God*, 17–21 seems to indicate that Kirk and Bauckham would disagree on what constitutes God's uniqueness, but that is a matter of identifying more precisely how God differs from other figures, not a problem with Bauckham's concept of divine identity and general method.

¹¹⁵ Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 177–260.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 16.

αὐτῷ ἡ ἄγγελος.¹¹⁷ He considers the son of man title in Luke-Acts to present Jesus in an angelomorphic category from earlier Jewish speculation appearing especially in the Similitudes of Enoch.¹¹⁸

Fletcher-Louis' work does not make angelomorphism an exclusive category, so not all of its conclusions are necessarily contradictory to my conclusions. He notes that some features of Luke-Acts present Jesus more as divine and as human than angelic.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, like Boyarin and Kirk, he reaches his conclusions through observing similarity without sufficient attention to difference. The characteristics of Jesus in Luke-Acts that Fletcher-Louis observes are not particular to angels. At times, Fletcher-Louis' own labels reflect this imprecision, as when he views the standing or falling before a figure in Luke 21:36 and *I Enoch* 48:10; 50:4; 62:8–9 as reflecting the response to “the divine judge” but then says that this is a “common pattern of human response to a theophany / angelophany” without clarifying why this presents Jesus in an angelomorphic category rather than a divine one.¹²⁰ Although Fletcher-Louis' work focuses extensively on Acts, it has little discussion of judgment in Acts, does not mention 10:42, and mentions 17:31 only a single time as support for the statement that “the Son of Man here acts as God's divine agent or judicial representative” when discussing Luke 17:24, 26–27, 30; 18:8b.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 34–71; these points appear on 34–38, 38–50, 50–57, 57–61, and 62–70 respectively.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 225–50.

¹¹⁹ Note the comment in *ibid.*, 61, “for Luke, and his hero Paul, *the risen Jesus is more fully Divine than an angel*. Yet returning to the end of the gospel we find evidence that for Luke, at the same time, *the risen Jesus must be regarded as more fully human than an angel*”; italics in original.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 234–35.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 229.

1.2.3.4 Summary

This review raises several points for proceeding to the christological significance of judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17. First, with the exception of an article by Dunn on Paul, no major study of the Acts speeches, of Lukan theology, or of early christology has focused specifically on the significance of judgment. Second, studies of christology have at times associated judgment with Jesus' messianic role or considered it an activity associated with divinity, but none have developed either individually or in relation to the other. Third, study of christology in Luke-Acts in the context of Second Temple Judaism requires observing not only similarities between Jesus and other figures, but also differences within similarity.

1.3 An Approach to the Christological Significance of Judgment in Acts 10 and 17

The following points describe the approach of this study for reading the speeches in Acts 10 and 17. I attempt to build on previous relevant studies while avoiding common pitfalls.

1.3.1 A Reading of the Presentation of Jesus' Judgment in the Speeches

In what follows, I study the presentation of Jesus' judgment in two speeches in Acts. I do not engage in a comprehensive study of the christological significance of judgment throughout Luke-Acts. Rather, I proceed from the two most direct statements of Jesus' judgment in the Acts speeches to consider two points concerning Jesus' authority and identity in Acts' presentation of Christian proclamation. My discussion of these speeches leaves aside concerns unrelated to judgment as well as how judgment may relate to questions outside of my focus on messianic identity and divine authority. This study also does not offer a proposal concerning the historical development of christology. Like Kirk's study, I am not offering "a

theory of Christian origins.”¹²² Acts is a document that historians may use when asking questions about christology among early Christians. I would hope that my work will both provide conclusions from exegetical and literary analysis that future historical studies may use, and offer implications for the historical study of christology. These are, however, not within the purview of my immediate arguments and conclusions.

1.3.2 Reading Acts in the Context of Second Temple Judaism

As a reading of Acts in a Second Temple Jewish context, the exegesis of Acts 10:34–43 and 17:22–31 in chapters 4 and 5 follows an extended analysis of eschatological judgment figures in other Jewish literature.¹²³ The significance of these figures for this study lies in three points. First, the manner in which Jewish texts contemporary with Luke-Acts construct these figures reflects scriptural exegesis. This exegesis may be similar to that in Luke-Acts and may inform how early audiences of Luke-Acts would have understood similarities and differences between its presentation of Jesus and the presentation of these figures in other texts. Second, study of these figures helps in identifying what constitutes the uniqueness of Israel’s God. Figures may share characteristics and activities with God. If, however, the texts in which they appear also clearly distinguish these figures from participation in divine identity in other respects, these differences help to clarify that the former characteristics and activities do not demonstrate participation in divine identity. At the same time, where many figures engage in an activity such as judgment that characterizes God but do so in a way different from God, that difference may help to clarify the boundaries of the unique identity of God that these texts do not cross when reflecting on other figures. Third, early christology

¹²² Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 13.

¹²³ By using “Second Temple” as a label for a time period, I also include the time shortly following the destruction of the temple during which texts such as *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and possibly Luke-Acts were composed.

does not include only the degree to which Jesus participates or does not participate in divine identity, but also other characteristics that he may share with such figures.

This study does not consider non-Jewish Hellenistic literature aside from evaluating the degree to which the speech in Acts 17:22–31 reflects accommodation to Greek philosophical thought.¹²⁴ While discussion of judgment in non-Jewish Hellenistic literature would inform the interpretation of the speech in a broader context, Jewish texts have reasons for priority. First, insofar as Acts is an early Christian work that frequently refers to scripture, has Jewish protagonists, and shows encounters with Jewish people, institutions, and practices both in Palestine and in the diaspora, it depends on much from Hellenistic Jewish religion and culture. Christianity itself began within the context of Hellenistic Judaism. Second, Acts reflects a theology of scriptural fulfilment by which it invites its audience to interpret its events in light of Jewish scripture. This is particularly the case in its presentation of Jesus, who includes *κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* within what the scriptures say about him in Luke 24:44–47. As I demonstrate, the presentation of Jesus’ judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 also displays significant scriptural influence and use. As much as Acts may refer to non-Jewish culture, it places its events in an understanding of historical progression that is Jewish-centric and informed by Jewish scripture.

1.3.3 Difference within Similarity

The survey of the studies by Boyarin, Kirk, and Fletcher-Louis above highlights the need for precision in considering both similarity and difference when comparing Jesus in Luke-Acts with figures from other literature. Mere recognition that Jesus and other figures judge provides insufficient reason for concluding that they possess analogous functions,

¹²⁴ See §5.3.

positions, or natures. I specify the descriptions of their judgment activity and how texts present their figures to establish both points of similarity and difference.

In its exploration of difference within similarity, this study also does not dichotomize exclusively between presentation of Jesus as human messiah and as acting with divine authority in a way suggestive of more than humanity. Similarity between Jesus and other figures serves as part of the argument that his role as judge in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 indicate his messianic identity, but the difference within that similarity simultaneously suggests divine authority of a different kind from the authority exercised by other figures, even if they also judge by divine delegation.

1.3.4 Attention to Scriptural Use and Influence

This study gives careful attention to use of scripture in the texts it discusses. The principal questions behind my discussions of scriptural use and influence are which scriptural texts provide material for constructing and describing eschatological judgment figures and how these inform the reading of the passages in which they appear. Identifying which texts influence other texts requires more than merely observing conceptual and lexical similarity, since an observed similarity may not be particular to one earlier text and so may not demonstrate that a later text uses that text rather than another. Two points direct the discussions of scriptural use and influence.

First, in establishing use of earlier texts, discussions of scriptural use must focus on the particularity of the similarities between texts and the multiplicity of common elements.¹²⁵ I attempt to avoid associating texts that share similarities through coincidence. Where

¹²⁵ In this way, my discussions of scriptural use are similar to William A. Tooman's application of the criteria of uniqueness, distinctiveness, multiplicity, thematic correspondence, and inversion to establish "deliberate literary borrowing," as he describes in *Gog of Magog: Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39*, FAT, 2nd ser., 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 27–31. In addition to inversion, the reproduction of multiple elements in the same order may also contribute to demonstrating literary use.

possible, discussions of use of earlier texts will identify multiple shared lexical elements and ideas in close proximity that are particular in their combination to those texts.

Second, aside from direct use, earlier texts may influence later texts through providing or reinforcing patterns of ideas and expressions that later texts appropriate without direct use of the earlier texts. This influence may be interpretatively significant in that the composition of a text may reflect the assumption of an implied audience's familiarity with these parts of a collective cultural knowledge.¹²⁶

1.3.5 Judgment and the Judgment Process

This study attempts to consider judgment with greater precision than previous studies through recognizing that not all stages of the judgment process constitute judgment. The main texts under discussion in Acts use the terms *κριτής* and *κρίνω*, the semantic ranges of which include making decisions, making distinctions, and choosing in addition to stages in the process associated with adjudication. In Jewish and Christian contexts, they may denote more general activity of ruling as in the use of Hebrew *דן*. Acts itself uses the terms in a variety of ways. The particular kind of judgment with which I am concerned is authoritative *in personam* adjudication, including determination of an outcome, whether negative, as in retribution, or positive, as in vindication and pardon. While this sense of judgment may relate to ruling in that the authority for adjudication may come from the position and prerogative of the judge as a ruler, the more general sense of judgment as ruling will not be considered. Because I have limited my scope to future eschatological judgment, I do not address

¹²⁶ Such a collective knowledge, using a term that has become popular among those outside the field of linguistic philosophy through Umberto Eco, is an "encyclopedia." Although citing Umberto Eco's chapter "Dictionary vs. Encyclopedia" in his *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (1984; repr., London: Macmillan, 1991), 46–86 as defining "cultural encyclopedia" has become common among some NT scholars, Eco himself does not use "cultural encyclopedia" as a phrase in the chapter. On intertextuality and encyclopedias, see Stephan Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy A. Huizenga (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2009), 7–8.

examples of divine retribution or other indications of judgment in the narrative present of Acts.¹²⁷ I also do not address priestly judgment.¹²⁸

1.3.6 Reading Luke-Acts as a Narrative

I approach the speeches as part of a narrative whole, recognizing the compositional intention to include speeches where they appear and in the form in which they appear. I am not, however, engaged in a narratological or narrative-critical study in that I do not use the particular categories and terms of narratology and narrative criticism. I assume the content of the Gospel of Luke as part of the knowledge of the implied audience in accordance with Acts 1:1. Since my focus rests on how Acts presents judgment in two speeches to the informed implied audience of the book, I am also not concerned with unpacking the understanding of the narrative audiences of the speeches.¹²⁹

1.4 Conclusions and Outline

Inquiry into the christological significance of the presentation of Jesus' role as judge in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 contributes not only to the interpretation of these and other speeches in Acts, but also advances an understanding of Lukan theology and suggests ways forward for research of early christology. This study brings together the three areas of research on the Acts speeches, Lukan theology, and early christology by offering a reading of the two speeches in their contemporary Jewish context in which the role of Jesus as a judge

¹²⁷ While using the qualifier "future" with eschatology may seem unnecessary, I do so here to distinguish future eschatological events that Luke-Acts may anticipate from the initiation of eschatological events taking place in the narrative, including the pouring out of the Spirit and the proclamation of salvation to Gentiles.

¹²⁸ As in Sir 45:17 and Ezek 44:23–24, which associate it with instruction in the law. Dongshin Don Chang, *Phinehas, the Sons of Zadok, and Melchizedek: Priestly Covenant in Late Second Temple Texts*, LSTS 90 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 75–76 draws attention to priestly judgment in Second Temple texts emphasizing Aaronic priesthood.

¹²⁹ I use the term "implied audience" to encompass both aural and visual reception in contrast to the more common but more restrictive "implied reader."

indicates his messianic identity and suggests divine authority. My approach draws attention not only to similarities between Jesus and other figures, but also to the difference within the similarities. I also consider scriptural influence and use in the relevant texts, distinguish judgment from other elements in the judgment process to offer greater precision, and approach the speeches as integral parts of a larger literary narrative. The following two chapters analyze eschatological judgment figures in Jewish texts from the late Second Temple period and shortly following, specifically the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch* in chapter 2 and several Qumran texts in chapter 3. Exegetical arguments for the function of judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 follow in chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 6, I summarize my conclusions and note additional implications.

CHAPTER 2: ESCHATOLOGICAL JUDGMENT FIGURES IN SELECTED PSEUDEPIGRAPHAL LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In chapter 1 I introduced the question of the christological significance of the presentation of the role of Jesus as a judge in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17. I demonstrated the need for reading these speeches in their Jewish context by thoroughly engaging with eschatological judgment figures in other Jewish literature from the late Second Temple period to observe both similarity and difference with Jesus. This chapter and the following one provide context through analyzing such figures in selected pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature.¹ A set of similarities and differences will emerge in comparison of these figures with the presentation of Jesus' judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17.

2.2 Method for Analysis

The literature traditionally labelled "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" presents a series of difficulties for the study of eschatological judgment figures within Judaism during the first century. This section considers how the difficulties of provenance, text, and representation affect analysis of the figures in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*.

2.2.1 Provenance and Dating

Those using pseudepigraphal writings for study of New Testament texts have at times used texts without sufficient demonstration that they stem from Jewish writers of this period. The three texts discussed in this chapter probably originate from non-Christian Jewish authors during the relevant time period. James R. Davila includes them in his list of Jewish

¹ I employ the term "pseudepigraphal" according to its conventional use without addressing the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the terms "Pseudepigrapha" and "pseudepigraphal."

pseudepigrapha, reasoning why they may be included “beyond reasonable doubt.”² In his assessment, *2 Baruch* features a stress on Torah observance, “a robust nationalist identity,” and eschatology that fits Jewish authorship, while it lacks clear marks of Christian authorship and presents its messiah in a manner unlikely for a Christian work.³ Davila attributes Jewish authorship to the Similitudes due to the absence of uniquely Christian elements, its later use in non-Christian Jewish circles, and the identification of the messianic figure as Enoch in 71:14, which, even if secondary, a Jewish redactor would not likely add to a Christian work.⁴ Uniquely Christian elements also lack in *4 Ezra*, which “is replete with Jewish signature features” and conflicts with Christianity in its depiction of the messiah and his place in eschatology.⁵ General consensus dates the Similitudes in the first century on either side the turn of the era and *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* within a few decades after the destruction of the temple.⁶

² James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 120–22.

³ Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 126–31. Rivka Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the “Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch”*, SBLEJL 20 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003) argues at length for Christian authorship of *2 Baruch*, but responses have further demonstrated the non-Christian Jewish nature of the work. See, e.g., Liv Ingeborg Lied, “Recent Scholarship on *2 Baruch*: 2000–2009,” *CBR* 9 (2011): 261–63 for a summary of critiques of Nir’s proposal and references.

⁴ Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 132–37, including in particular 134n33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 137–41.

⁶ Many studies address the dating of these texts, particularly that of the Similitudes. See George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 58–63; Michael Edward Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 9–10; Matthias Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel: Reading Second Baruch in Context*, TSAJ 142 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 25–32 for recent plausible datings of the texts and references. Daniel M. Gurtner proposes a date of twenty-five years after the destruction of the temple for *2 Baruch* in “The ‘Twenty-Fifth Year of Jeconiah’ and the Date of *2 Baruch*,” *JSP* 18 (2008): 23–32. The logic of Gurtner’s argument is confusing since he provides support for the date formula in 1:1 as indicating the year of Jeconiah’s reign but then calculates from the date of the Temple’s destruction. Also see on *2 Baruch* Mark F. Whitters, *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message*, JSPSup 42 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 149–55.

2.2.2 Texts

The texts in this chapter only exist in their entireties in late manuscripts in translation. Aside from the Epistle (2 *Bar.* 78–87), 2 *Baruch* exists in a single complete sixth- or seventh-century Syriac manuscript and one later manuscript in Arabic translated from Syriac.⁷ *Fourth Ezra* attests more clear examples of early use than the other two texts, including quotation by Clement of Alexandria, and survives in several versions (sometimes partially), including the Vulgate and Syriac, the latter in only one complete sixth- or seventh-century manuscript.⁸ The Similitudes of Enoch survive only in Ethiopic manuscripts from the fifteenth century and later, which most believe preserve a secondary translation of Aramaic via Greek.⁹ Debate surrounds the original languages of 2 *Baruch* and 4 *Ezra*.¹⁰ Retroversion into proposed original languages remains speculative, cannot take account of all the variables in the translation process, and usually has no means of checking for error.¹¹ The analysis below seeks to acknowledge this textual situation by attempting to avoid making crucial arguments

⁷ See Daniel M. Gurtner, *Second Baruch: A Critical Edition of the Syriac Text*, JCTCRSS 5 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 6–10.

⁸ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 1–9.

⁹ See George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 15–17; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 4–6; and Ted M. Erho and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “A Manuscript History of *Ethiopic Enoch*,” *JSP* 23 (2013): 87–133 on the texts of the *1 Enoch*, including the Similitudes. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 30–34, for a discussion of the original language of the Similitudes and a representative view cautiously suggesting the Ethiopic translates a Greek version from an Aramaic original.

¹⁰ See James R. Davila, “(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?,” *JSP* 15 (2005): 59 for an example of skepticism concerning assertions concerning their original languages. The Syriac version of 2 *Baruch* claims to derive from Greek and the Oxyrhynchus papyri include some Greek fragments. Whether the Greek reproduces a Semitic original remains finally unresolved. See Gurtner, *Second Baruch*, 10–13 for a concise but necessarily inconclusive discussion of the original language of the work. For the view that 4 *Ezra* originated in Hebrew, see, e.g., Michael A. Knibb, “Apocalyptic and Wisdom in 4 *Ezra*,” in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 277, 277n27; and Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 10–11.

¹¹ See at length Davila, “(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?,” 3–61 on the problems of retroversion of pseudepigraphal texts.

that depend on exact forms of texts, isolated lexical correspondences, or speculative retroversion.¹²

2.2.3 Representation

An additional caution concerns the limited representation these compositions provide. Much literature considering unity or diversity within Second Temple Judaism has appeared since Gabriele Boccaccini's *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*.¹³ Boccaccini proposed two primary forms of Judaism, Zadokite and Enochic. The Qumran community broke away from "mainstream" Enochic Judaism to become a distinct sect.¹⁴ Of the three texts discussed in this chapter, Boccaccini considers *4 Ezra* and the Similitudes of Enoch to stem from mainstream Enochic Judaism following the Qumran community's break away from other Enochians.¹⁵ By contrast, he does not consider *2 Baruch* Enochic.¹⁶ This evaluation of Second Temple Judaism as consisting of two primary types differs from the emphases of others on greater diversity.¹⁷ Whatever the diversity in Judaism at the time, any one work from the period may not represent all of Judaism.

¹² Throughout I use the editions of Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) for the Ethiopic text (transliteration is my own following Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006], xx–xxi), supplemented by the English translation and textual notes in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*; Gurtner, *Second Baruch*; R.J. Bidawid, ed., "4 Esdras," in *Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Esdras*, Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version, Part IV, fascicle 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973); and A. Frederik J. Klijn, ed., *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra*, TUGAL 131 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983).

¹³ Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 119–62, 186–89.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, see 144–49, 188 on the Similitudes of Enoch and 144, 168, and 189 on *4 Ezra*.

¹⁶ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 13–14. Boccaccini differs from many scholars in attributing *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* to different schools of thought within Judaism. See Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 148–86 for a recent comparison of the two works with references to others.

¹⁷ As an example of this emphasis on diversity, see the collection of essays in Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), in particular William Scott Green, "Introduction: Messiah in

Where divergent texts, seemingly representative of different schools of thought, include the same or similar ideas, these ideas appear to be more widespread. Where, for example, the *Similitudes of Enoch* and *2 Baruch* display similarities in their understanding of eschatological judgment and figures participating in it, these ideas are more likely to have enjoyed wider adherence, or at least to have been more widely known, than ideas they individually attest. Where they together share ideas also found in Qumran literature, the likelihood of wide adherence to these ideas increases further. If all texts featuring eschatological judgment figures agree on certain characteristics, this leads to the conclusion that Jewish writers in general at the time may have conceived of eschatological judgment figures with these characteristics.¹⁸ Since this chapter and the next consider selected texts featuring eschatological judgment figures, the possibility remains that others within Judaism during the period did not recognize any such figures.

2.2.4 Categories for Analysis

Four categories facilitate analysis of the eschatological judgment figures in these texts: nature of judgment, activity, nature, and principal use of scripture. The nature of judgment includes the scope of the judgment a figure administers and the sentences resulting from negative judgment. A figure's activity includes how the figure functions as a judge, other activities associated with judging that the figure performs, and the location of the figure's activity. Under the heading of the nature of a figure, I consider whether a text presents a figure as human, divine, angelic, or belonging to some other classification

Judaism: Rethinking the Question," 1–13. See also Matthew V. Novenson, *Christ among the Messiahs: Christ Language and Messiah Language in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 34–63 on the diversity in messianism yet meaningfulness of messiah language in texts from this period.

¹⁸ A more comprehensive comparative study examining eschatological judgment figures in all extant Jewish literature from the period would provide stronger results but must await the future. With more space, *Pss. Sol.* 17, for example, could be discussed. The picture it presents of its figure reinforces my conclusions from analyzing other texts.

according to how it labels and characterizes its figure. The final analytical category, principal use of scripture, concerns the main scriptural texts that these pseudepigraphal texts appear to use in their presentation of the nature and judgment activity of their figures. After analysis of each of these figures, a summary for comparison with Jesus in the Acts speeches concludes the chapter.

2.3 Analysis

2.3.1 The Similitudes of Enoch

The son of man figure holds central place in the Similitudes of Enoch.¹⁹ Aside from God, he is the only character functioning as a judge by evaluating subjects of judgment and determining verdict.²⁰ Angels execute sentence, but the book contains no other judges.²¹ He is a unique eschatological judge.

2.3.1.1 Nature of Judgment

The son of man figure's judgment is universal in scope, includes punishment and vindication for humans and angels, but does not appear to include forgiveness. *First Enoch* 69:27–28 declares that his judgment will eliminate all sinners 'emgaššā lamedr ("from the face of the earth") and evil deeds (probably of the fallen watchers in this particular

¹⁹ In addition to works cited in this chapter, see Jason von Ehrenkrook, "The Parables of Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: A Bibliography, 1773–2006" in Gabriele Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), 513–39 for works on the son of man figure.

²⁰ 46:7 tells of those who are powerful wrongly and futilely judging the stars, but this judgment obviously belongs to a different category.

²¹ Angels execute sentences of judgment in 53:3–54:6; 56:1–4, 5–8 (through rousing armies against each other, perhaps suggested by 10:9 in the Book of the Watchers); 62:11; and 63:1. Even when considering all of the writings in *I Enoch* together, only the son of man and God appear as true judges. The others function only to administer sentences, to present evidence (i.e. records of deeds), or to serve as witnesses. While 91:11–12 could be read as describing the righteous as judges, I think it more likely that they merely execute a sentence from God. In any case they do not participate in eschatological judgment.

passage) *'emqedma gaṣṣa medr* (“from upon the face of the earth”).²² He judges kings, their dominions, and other powerful among humanity (46:4–5). His judgment extends to angels (61:8–9) as well as demons and their leader Azazel (55:4), the latter resulting in angelic administration of punishment. As though to summarize, in 69:27 he receives *re'su lakwennanē* (lit. “the head of judgment”), which George W.E. Nickelsburg translates as “the whole judgment.”²³ He is righteous and will judge according to righteousness (39:6; 46:3, 9; 53:6).

Distinguishing between the judgment of God and that of the son of man figure presents difficulties. Both are righteous judges before whom the wicked will be destroyed (50:4; 62:2),²⁴ and both judge from the throne of glory (45:3; 47:3; 62:2; 55:4; 69:27, 29). The punishment that their judgments demand does not appear to differ. The sentence of judgment includes banishment from earth and heaven (38:1, 4; 45:2, 6; 69:27), from the place of the righteous (41:2), and from the son of man figure (62:10); death (38:6); consignment to darkness (46:5); and burning (48:9). Their judgment relegates both humans and demons to valleys of punishment in 53:1–54:6. The son of man receives his role to judge by the judgment of God in 61:9, and yet his judgment is so linked to the judgment of God that for the son of man to judge is for God to judge, and God’s eschatological judgment takes place through the son of man judging. He does not merely execute sentences passed by God, as the angels, but sits as judge to determine verdicts in God’s judgment authoritatively. At the same

²² Translation of Ethiopic and Syriac throughout is my own.

²³ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 311. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, 458 does not mention the use of *re'sa* for a whole, but the phrase must express something similar to this, perhaps with more emphasis on the figure’s place as high judge of all rather than on its universal scope.

²⁴ Emending *wanabara* to *wa'anbarō*, on which see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 256; Johannes Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter: Untersuchungen zum traditionsgeschichtlichem Ort der Menschensohngestalt der Bilderreden des Äthiopischen Henoch*, SUNT 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 87; and Leslie W. Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, JCTCRSS 9 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 101–102.

time, the Similitudes emphatically portray God in 41:9 as the one judge whose judgment prevails, and 60:6 similarly presents him singularly as judge.²⁵

This would seem to be the most comprehensive equation of the judgments of the son of man figure and the Lord of Spirits possible without identifying them as each other, which the text does not do. At one point the Similitudes are silent about the son of man figure's judgment. In 61:1–5 a comprehensive resurrection of the righteous occurs, following mention of God's positive judgment of righteous humans in mercy in 60:25. The son of man figure's positive judgment for holy angels appears in the following chapter, but, while the scene in chapter 62 may imply it, no statement clearly associates the messiah with the judgment at the resurrection. Although his judgment extends to righteous angels and therefore appears to include vindication, the Similitudes do not emphasize his positive judgment, and they nowhere say that he forgives or mediates forgiveness.

2.3.1.2 Activity Associated with Judgment

The Similitudes appear to present the son of man figure not only judging from the throne of glory, but also reigning from it. The throne of glory in the Similitudes has received attention for how the Lord of Spirits and the son of man figure share it for judgment and how this may reflect the presence of another figure alongside God in some scriptural texts.

Richard Bauckham and Nickelsburg associate it, for example, with the **כבר אנוש** alongside God in Daniel 7 and with Psalm 110, where Yahweh instructs another figure to sit at his right and rule.²⁶ Johannes Theisohn argues that Psalm 110:1, 5–6, although not containing a phrase

²⁵ Taking *kwennanē* as resulting from a mistaken translation of a Semitic word for “judge,” possibly Aramaic **דן**, following Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:143. This does not preclude the possibility of intermediary translation in which the mistake originated.

²⁶ Richard Bauckham, “The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus,” in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 58; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 262.

equivalent to “throne of glory,” alone combines the various elements associated with the placement of the son of man figure on the throne of glory in the Similitudes, specifically enthronement on the throne of Yahweh, judgment, and polarization.²⁷ The Similitudes clearly draw from Daniel 7 in other respects (on which see further below), and I agree that Psalm 110 probably informed this feature of the Similitudes, although possibly without direct allusion.

Nickelsburg contrasts the activity associated with the throne in the Similitudes and Daniel 7, viewing the throne in the former as the location of only judgment but in the latter as that from which the **כבר אנוש** continues to reign.²⁸ The Similitudes, however, give at least four reasons for understanding the throne as a location of the figure’s reign.

First, the Similitudes do not associate his throne exclusively with judgment. In 51:1–5, the son of man figure sits on his throne during the time of joy and peace in the world, speaking wisdom.²⁹ The placement of 45:4, which speaks of the son of man figure living with the righteous immediately after judgment from the throne in the previous verse, also suggests that the throne is not exclusively for judgment. Second, while the Similitudes associate both God and the son of man figure with the throne of glory, they do not indicate that either of them ever leave it. Third, as discussed below, the Similitudes use Isaiah 11, Isaiah 49, Psalm 2, and Daniel 7 in their depiction of the son of man figure. All of these passages describe a ruling figure.³⁰ Finally, although prior to the completion of his judgment, 62:6 calls the figure

²⁷ Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter*, 68–98.

²⁸ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 119, 155n2; see also 262.

²⁹ Admittedly, the throne here is merely *manbaru* (“his throne”) or, more likely and strikingly, *manbareya* (“my throne,” see Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1:140 and Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 181) and is not qualified by *sebhat* (“glory”), but it seems to be the same throne mentioned elsewhere. The figure’s position on the throne results from God glorifying (*sabbeha*) him.

³⁰ Ps 2:6 calls its figure **מלכי**; Isa 11:1 and 10 mention the ancestor of the royal family; and Dan 7:14 mention **שלטן ויקר ומלכו**. Isa 49 in isolation is slightly less clear, but suggests royalty by **מלכים יראו וקמו שרים** in verse 7. Hebrew text throughout is from K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1997).

zayemalek kwello (“who reigns over all”); nowhere do the Similitudes negate this ruling activity after the completion of the judgment. He therefore begins his ruling function by receiving a throne and rendering judgment, after which he continues to live as king among the righteous.

2.3.1.3 Nature of Figure

The son of man figure appears in the Similitudes as a human, although one with extraordinary characteristics. The only way the text may directly state his nature is through his various designations as “son of man,” sometimes accompanied by a demonstrative: *walda sab’*, *walda be’esi*, and *walda ’egwala ’emma heyāw*.³¹ Maurice Casey has taken the three expressions as lacking any special function and simply denoting a human being.³² Nickelsburg, however, offers a more nuanced evaluation that “rather than a formal or

³¹ *walda sab’*: 46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; *walda be’esi*: 62:5 (variant *walda be’esit*); 69:29 (2x); 71:14; *walda ’egwala ’emma heyāw*: 62:7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26, 27; 70:1; 71:17. See the table in Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 71, which also shows demonstratives used, accompanying all occurrences except those in 46:3; 62:7; 69:27; and 71:14. An angel also uses *walda sab’* for Enoch in 60:10. Helge S. Kvanvig perceives a distinction in the use of the three expressions and proposes that they derive respectively from Aramaic *בר אדם*, *בר אִנְש*, and *בר אִם כָּל חַי* in “The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, 193–95. More likely, however, they are used interchangeably in view of their distribution in the Similitudes and the likelihood that the *Vorlage* used in producing the Ethiopic text, whether translated Greek or original Semitic, did not distinguish them. See the discussion in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 114–15 with its critique of Kvanvig, and Maurice Casey, “The Use of the Term ‘Son of Man’ in the Similitudes of Enoch,” *JSJ* 7 (1976): 17–18. The inconsistency with which the Ethiopic translation of the Bible renders terms, even within the same context, noted by Knibb, raises the question of whether the same inconsistency might characterize the Ethiopic translation of *1 Enoch*. See Michael A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament; The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) on the characteristics of the Ethiopic Bible. Note the inconsistency even of the use of demonstratives with the “son of man” in the Gospels on 73–74. Perhaps the translators or later copyists vacillated between the more literal *walda sab’* or *walda be’esi* and the longer phrase common in the Ethiopic Gospels.

³² Casey, “The Use of the Term ‘Son of Man’ in the Similitudes of Enoch,” 11–29 and more recently, *The Solution to the ‘Son of Man’ Problem* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 82–111. As anticipated at the end of the earlier article, Casey applies this view of “son of man” to the Gospels, arguing that originally Aramaic sayings referred in an ordinary way to a human being and carried no special sense. Recent critiques of Casey’s proposal include essays in Larry W. Hurtado and Paul L. Owen, eds., *Who Is This Son of Man? : The Latest Scholarship on a Puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus*, LNTS 390 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), specifically Albert L. Lukaszewski, “Issues Concerning the Aramaic Behind *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*: A Critical Review of Scholarship,” 1–27; Paul L. Owen, “Problems with Casey’s ‘Solution,’” 28–49; David Shepherd, “Re-solving the Son of Man ‘Problem’ in Aramaic,” 50–60; and P.J. Williams, “Expressing Definiteness in Aramaic: A Response to Casey’s Theory Concerning the Son of Man Sayings,” 61–77.

traditional messianic title as such, ‘Son of Man’ in the Parables appears to be a designation employed in a coherent set of texts that refer back to a character who has been introduced with the terminology that is incorporated in that designation,” and that, appearing in passages alluding to Daniel 7, it identifies the son of man figure with the figure in that text.³³ These phrases expressing human nature become primary designations for the figure in the Similitudes.

When Enoch asks the interpreting angel about the figure he sees appearing like a human being (*zagaššu kama re’yata sab’* [“whose face was like the appearance of a human”]), the angel does not say that the figure symbolizes something other than a human. He speaks of him as human, albeit as an extraordinary one in righteousness: *zentu we’etu walda sab’ zalotu kona šedq wašedq meslēhu ḥādara* (46:3, “this is the son of man to whom belongs righteousness, and righteousness dwells with him”). Although “a figure with the appearance of a man is quite commonly found to be an angel in apocalyptic literature,”³⁴ the Similitudes always present the figure in a manner distinguishing him from angelic figures. When Enoch sees the son of man figure, he seems to recognize him immediately as unique. The Similitudes describe other figures almost solely with respect to their activity, whether the angelic multitudes praising God, the four angels around God in chapter 40,³⁵ or even Azazel and his followers. Although it is a reasonable assumption that the author conceived of some of the other angelic figures in the Similitudes as human-like in appearance, they only specify

³³ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 116.

³⁴ John J. Collins, “The Heavenly Representative: The ‘Son of Man’ in the Similitudes of Enoch,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John J. Collins and George W.E. Nickelsburg, SBLSCS 12 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 112.

³⁵ Although Enoch recognizes them as unlike the angelic multitude in 40:2, he does not specify any differences in their appearance.

the appearance of this one figure in that way.³⁶ The ruling function discussed above, drawing on texts associated with a king, sometimes explicitly davidic, and the designation of the figure as *masihu/masihu* (“his messiah”) in 48:10 and 52:4, also could suggest a human nature.

The figure remains unnamed, however, except in 71:14, which appears to identify the figure with Enoch by the phrase *'anta we'etu walda be'si* (“you are that son of man”). This provides a name for the figure and indicates a (probably transformed) human nature. Many do not view chapter 71 as an original part of the Similitudes, establishing a near consensus, and some have offered alternative grammatical explanations of the phrase that do not equate Enoch with the son of man figure.³⁷ Such an identification would indicate a human nature for the figure and would affect the understanding of statements that seem to indicate the figure’s existence prior to his revelation. I will not attempt to resolve these problems but follow Nickelsburg in viewing 70:1–2 as the original ending of the Similitudes while still noting the principal differences that identification of the figure with Enoch would make to the comparison of this figure with others.³⁸

³⁶ 46:1 also compares him with angels, but it does so with regard to the expression of his countenance, not his physical features.

³⁷ For a survey of older discussion with references, see Alberto Ricciardi, “1 Henoc 70–71: ¿Es Henoc el Hijo del hombre?,” *Cuaderno de Teología* 17 (1998): 129–46. Ricciardi considers chapter 71 a secondary addition and unusually interprets *we'etu walda be'si* as a vocative that does not identify Enoch with the son of man figure. For references to more recent discussions and consideration of the problem in light of differences in the use of the Book of the Watchers between chapter 71 and the rest of the Similitudes, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 330–32. Among other writers who do not consider 71:14 part of the original form of the Similitudes are Sabino Chialà, “The Son of Man: The Evolution of an Expression,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, 162; Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 134n33; Michael A. Knibb, “The Structure and Composition of the Parables of Enoch,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, 63; “Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 177–81; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Parables of Enoch according to George Nickelsburg and Michael Knibb: A Summary and Discussion of Some Remaining Questions,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, 71; and Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter*, 216. Identification of a figure elsewhere called “messiah” with Enoch would seem an unlikely result of Christian editing, so even if not original, it still dates prior to Christian transmission.

³⁸ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 315.

The Similitudes make repeated references to the name of God, often as the object of praise, along with references to the name of the son of man figure. Their treatment of these names suggests to some that the son of man figure shares the divine name and is part of the being of God in a complex monotheism.³⁹ This would account for why the Similitudes never state the figure's name and would help to explain the use of a secret name in an oath in the creation of the world in 69:13–25.⁴⁰ The naming scene in 48:2–3 never states his name, and 69:26 mentions the disclosure of the figure's name without specifying it. In any case, while the Similitudes treat the name of the figure as holding great significance, they remain reticent to state that name.

The origin and emergence of the figure are also extraordinary for a human. In the most natural reading, God's naming, hiding, and guarding the figure prior to creation in 48:3, 6 and 62:7 attribute existence to him long before his eschatological activity.⁴¹ Leslie W. Walck argues against the preexistence of the figure in chapter 48 that the passage indicates that “the revelatory and judicial purpose of the Son of Man existed from everlasting, rather than the actual ontological existence of the figure” and that apocalyptic literature views different parts of time together since “all time is perceived synchronically in the heavenly realm.”⁴² In response to Walck's first point, while preexistent purpose without ontology might

³⁹ Charles A. Gieschen, “The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, 238–49 and Steven Richard Scott, “The Binitarian Nature of the *Book of Similitudes*,” *JSP* 18 (2008): 55–78, esp. 62–73. Gieschen identifies the name of the son of man figure with the name of God, whereas Scott identifies the son of man figure with the name of God. Scott does not sufficiently account for the distinction between the son of man figure and his name nor adequately interact with scriptural texts about the divine name.

⁴⁰ While the passage does not specify whether the name is that of the son of man figure or that of God, its use in creation recalls the naming of the figure prior to creation in 48:3. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 306–307 on the possible derivation of *bēqa* and *'akā* in this passage from יהוה אדני and יהוה האלהים through gematria.

⁴¹ Others affirming this interpretation include John J. Collins, “Enoch and the Son of Man: A Response to Sabino Chialà and Helge Kvanvig,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, 225; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 84, 170–71.

⁴² Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and Matthew*, 98–99. For the first point, Walck follows the view of T.W. Manson in “The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels,” in *Studies in the*

account for naming prior to creation, it does not explain how God could have “kept” or “guarded” (*‘āqaba*) the figure prior to creation, as he does in 62:7, nor does it account for the language describing the figure as with God (*baqedmēhu, baqedma*) in either passage. As much as apocalyptic literature may present different parts of time together, these passages specify relative time for when what they describe occurs: God hid and kept the son of man figure prior to creation.

The Similitudes also present the figure as different from an ordinary human by omitting any indication of mortality and by picturing worship of the figure. They mention no birth or death, only existence in the presence of God until a revelation in the eschaton, after which he lives forever with the righteous. Raphael blesses him in 40:5, everyone on earth worships him in 48:5, and the kings and powerful worship him in 62:9 while pleading for him to spare them. No one else aside from God receives worship in the Similitudes, and this fact indicates that the son of man figure is, at least in status if not also ontologically, superior to any other being besides God in the Similitudes. If the unacceptability of worshipping anything aside from the one God in Judaism is assumed, then the Similitudes present worshipping the son of man figure as worshipping the one God while at the same time lacking any direct statement attributing divinity to him.

2.3.1.4 Principal Use of Scripture

The Similitudes draw particularly from Psalm 2, Isaiah 11:1–5, Isaianic Servant passages (especially Isa 49:1–6), and Daniel 7 in their presentation of the son of man figure. Chapter 46 offers a visionary scene based on Daniel 7 in which the defeat of the four kingdoms has turned into general statements about the son of man figure overpowering the

Gospels and Epistles, ed. Matthew Black (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962), 123–45, see esp. 136–37 on the figure not being pre-existent.

kings and powerful.⁴³ Considering parallels only related to the figure, Enoch sees him with *beluya mawā‘el* (corresponding to Daniel’s עֵתִיק יוֹמִיא), he looks like a man, and he has all kings subjected to him (46:1, 4–6; Dan 7:13–14, 26–27). Subsequent use of the “son of man” epithets for the figure and the divine epithet *re’sa mawā‘el* (“head of days,” 47:3; 48:2; 55:1; 60:2; also 71:12, 13, 14) recall this initial scene alluding to Daniel.⁴⁴ The following chapter uses Daniel 7:9–10 in 47:3. This is a judgment scene in which the *re’sa mawā‘el* sits on the throne to judge and books are opened, although it does not mention the son of man figure.

Nickelsburg attributes the son of man figure’s role as judge in chapter 46 to use of other texts: “The allusions here to Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11 (1 Enoch 48:8, 10; 49:3) indicate that the judicial function of the Son of Man, missing from Daniel 7, derives from the conflation of the Danielic tradition with royal messianic ideology.”⁴⁵ The author may also have assumed a judgment role behind Daniel 7 itself, however. Daniel sees the installment of the כֶּבֶד אֱנוֹשׁ in 7:14.⁴⁶ This continues a series of thematic statements in Daniel concerning the reign of God and the eternal final kingdom he will establish in 2:44; 3:33; 4:31–32; and 6:27–28. Daniel 7:14 applies the language of the earlier passages to the future kingdom of the כֶּבֶד

⁴³ The parallels are obvious and generally acknowledged. See, e.g., Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 154–58; see 155 for a brief defense of the use of Dan 7 rather than earlier traditions from which Daniel also drew. The use of Daniel in other apocalyptic or prophetic contexts in this period, sometimes with citation (e.g., Matt 24:15; 4 Ezra 12:11), attests that it served as a common source of material.

⁴⁴ Note also *re’sa maḥalā* (“head of the covenant”) in 71:10 accompanied by a description like that in 46:1. On *re’sa mawā‘el* and its equivalence to עֵתִיק יוֹמִיא, see Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 54–58.

⁴⁵ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 119. Christopher Rowland similarly asserts concerning Dan 7, “As far as one can ascertain from the chapter, there is no suggestion that the Son of Man comes as an eschatological judge. He is merely a vice-regent, exercising the divine sovereignty on God’s behalf” in *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 182.

⁴⁶ See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 304–310 on interpretation of the כֶּבֶד אֱנוֹשׁ as an individual figure rather than a corporate symbol. See also earlier Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 178–82.

אנש. The author of the Similitudes may have read judgment activity into his royal position here.

Links from Daniel 7 to earlier parts of Daniel may have further influenced the portrayal of the figure in the Similitudes. Daniel 7 takes its phrase for those who serve the (כל עממא אמיא ולשניא) כבר אנש from its five earlier occurrences in the book, where kings exercise rule over them or wrongly require their worship (3:4, 7; 5:19), or kings instruct them to recognize God (3:31; 6:26). Its portrayal of them “serving” (פלוח) him uses the term speaking earlier in the book only of serving a deity. Chapter 46 in the Similitudes could have thus filled in the silence concerning the activity of the כבר אנש with the crushing of kingdoms in Daniel 2 as an expression of judgment. The passage may have also taken cues for the sharing of activities between God and the son of man figure from the pairing of Daniel 7:14 with corresponding earlier verses. The Similitudes seem to show awareness of other parts of Daniel and so could have made links such as these.⁴⁷

The clearest use of Isaiah 11 in the Similitudes is the rephrasing of Isaiah 11:2–3 in 49:3–4, which speaks of the spirit on the figure with a list of attributes, some taken exactly from Isaiah 11:2, and of his just and impartial judgment. Later, 62:2 also alludes to the beginning of Isaiah 11, as Nickelsburg and Walck recognize.⁴⁸ The corresponding elements in 62:2 are the figure presented as royal (on a throne), the spirit of righteousness (corresponding

⁴⁷ For example, kings are faulted and incur punishment for failing to acknowledge God as the giver of their sovereignty in 46:5, as also in Daniel (4:26, 32; 5:21–23). Nickelsburg notes a series of similarities between Dan 12:1–3 and *1 En.* 51:1–5 and suggests that they may be due to literary relationship (Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 186). *Wayādaqeq ‘asnāna hāṭe’ān* (“and he will crush the teeth of sinners”) in 46:4 may even recall the crushing in Dan 2, although the specific image of crushing teeth appears in pictures of God’s judgment in Pss 3:8 and 58:7 (cf. Lam 3:16). Walck considers chapter 52 derived from Dan 2 in Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 35. While plausible, the differences in the role of the mountain images and the lack of other verbal parallels in the two passages makes dependence difficult to prove.

⁴⁸ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and Matthew*, 102; see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 117–18 on Isa 11:1–5 as behind both 49:3–4 and 62:2.

to the descriptions of the רוח יהוה in 11:2 and צדק for judgment in 11:4 and 5), and sentencing the wicked by what proceeds from his mouth. The judgment of the figure as the Chosen One may result from linking Isaiah 11:3–4 with Isaiah 42:1–4.⁴⁹ The Similitudes may also use Isaiah 11 in 51:3 and 61:11, but these instances are less clear and do not add to understanding the nature of the figure and his judgment.⁵⁰

Two of the epithets for the son of man figure, *heruy/heruy* (“chosen”) and *ṣādeq* (“righteous”), which appears with *heruy* in 53:6 but not indisputably elsewhere, come from designations for the Isaianic Servant, reflecting בחירי in Isaiah 42:1 and צדיק in Isaiah 53:11 respectively.⁵¹ In addition to these epithets, the clearest use of material about the Isaianic Servant in the Similitudes occurs in the naming scene in *1 Enoch* 48. Isaiah 49:1–7 provides a series of elements to this scene, including God’s attention to the figure’s name before his appointed task (48:2; Isa 49:1),⁵² the figure as a light for the nations (48:4; Isa 49:6), salvation through the figure (48:7; Isa 49:6), prostration or worship before the figure (48:5; Isa 49:7), the hiding and choosing of the figure by God (48:6; Isa 49:2, 7), preservation and allotment/inheritance (48:7; Isa 49:6, 8), and possibly the role of the figure as a staff holding

⁴⁹ As Nickelsburg suggests in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 179.

⁵⁰ Nickelsburg associates Isa 51:3 with Isa 11 in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 186. Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and Matthew*, 106–107 views 62:8 as using Isa 11 by taking שרש and עמר in Isa 11:10. The two texts, however, use different agricultural metaphors and those standing in them differ, so this link is unlikely.

⁵¹ *heruy/heruy* occurs in 39:6; 40:5; 45:3, 4; 49:2, 4; 51:3, 5; 52:6, 9; 53:6; 55:4; 61:5, 8, 10; and 62:1. Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter*, 31–32 struggles with the inclusion of the figure in 61:10 in a list otherwise only comprised of various kinds of angels. This need not present a problem since the list still distinguishes him uniquely from the angels. In 47:1 *ṣādeq* probably is a singular representative for righteous people. See Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter*, 32–33 on the textual problem in 38:2. If the word is singular there and refers to the son of man figure, it still does not add anything not stated elsewhere in the Similitudes.

⁵² Isa 49:1 only speaks of the name of the Servant from the time in his mother’s womb, however, whereas *1 En.* 48:2–3 speaks of his naming before creation.

up the righteous or raising up the tribes of Israel (48:4; Isa 49:6).⁵³ The verbal parallels and the number of corresponding elements establish use of the Isaianic Servant in constructing the son of man figure in this passage.⁵⁴

Chapters 62 and 63 contain a series of parallels with Isaiah 52:13–53:12 in a manner similar to Wisdom of Solomon 5.⁵⁵ Nickelsburg provides a list of eight elements that the three texts share, with one missing from Wisdom and one only implied in the Isaiah passage, demonstrating that these chapters in the Similitudes reflect a traditional interpretation.⁵⁶ These chapters in the Similitudes also display significant differences from Isaiah in their presentation of their figure. Nickelsburg observes, “The exalted figure in the Parables is not the one who suffered and who, according to Wisdom 2; 4–5, was persecuted by the antagonists. He is, instead, a transcendent figure, the Chosen One and Righteous One, who is *the heavenly patron* of the suffering chosen and righteous ones.”⁵⁷ In Isaiah 52:13–53:12, the speakers reflect on the suffering of the servant bringing שלומנו and declare נרפא־לנו ובחברתו (53:5). He becomes an אשם and not only justifies the righteous, but also bears their guilt himself (53:11). Although innocent (53:7), he is considered with the פשעים, he intercedes for

⁵³ See also the lists of parallels in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 171 and Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter*, 119–21. The final parallel here is one that Nickelsburg mentions. Strengthening its likelihood as a true parallel is its position in both texts immediately before corresponding statements about the figure’s role as a light for the nations and perhaps the play on שבט/*batr* meaning either “staff” or “tribe” (the paronomasia is possible in both languages; see Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge’ez*, 112 on *batr*). Nickelsburg also parallels salvation in *1 En.* 48:7 with Isa 49:8 without mentioning 49:6.

⁵⁴ Although skeptical of strong association of the son of man figure with the servant in the Servant Songs of Isaiah, Erik Sjöberg acknowledges use of the songs in Isa 42 and 49. See, for his extended argument, Erik Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch*, SHVL 41 (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1946), 116–139, esp. 122–128.

⁵⁵ Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 258.

⁵⁶ Ibid. The common elements are “God speaks” “exaltation,” “audience,” “they see the Exalted One,” “their reaction,” “recognition,” “they confess their sins,” “acclamation by the audience.” See Nickelsburg’s references for further discussions.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 259, italics in original.

them and forgives sin (53:12). Nothing like this describes the son of man figure in the Similitudes. The corresponding group of people in chapters 62–63 of the Similitudes pleads for mercy but receives none.

Psalm 2 appears behind the Similitudes in the designation of the kings of the earth as subjugated adversaries to God and his messiah. “The kings of the earth” in varying forms occurs as a general designation for rulers in scriptural texts, but only Psalm 2:2 emphasizes their opposition to God.⁵⁸ The use of Psalm 2:2 becomes clear in 48:10, where they are punished for denying the Lord of Spirits and his messiah, corresponding to *יתיצבו על־יהוה ועל־* *משיחו* in the psalm. Although this is the one place in the Similitudes that appears most specifically as an allusion to Psalm 2,⁵⁹ the ideas of the kings of the earth as the enemies of God and the son of man figure and of his rule over them continue as central themes in the second and third similitudes.⁶⁰

Finally, the Similitudes use scriptural imagery of divine visitation in the presentation of the son of man figure. The figure’s coming in the metal mountain passage in chapter 52 most likely combines the description of divine visitation for judgment in 1:3–9 of the Book of the Watchers, which itself uses Zechariah 14:4–5, with other scriptural divine visitation imagery.⁶¹ The three texts each speak of the eschatological coming of a figure (the son of man figure in the Similitudes, God in the Book of the Watchers and Zechariah), the destruction of the wicked, and accompanying natural disturbance, including the destruction of mountains.

⁵⁸ Isa 24:21 also assumes their opposition to God since it speaks of his visitation against them, but it does not directly mention their opposition.

⁵⁹ Also recognized as such in, e.g., Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 176.

⁶⁰ See 53:5; 54:2; 55:4; 62:1–6, 9–12.

⁶¹ Rather than alluding to the statue in Dan 2, as some have proposed (see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 189n2 for references), the materials of the mountains probably refer to those composing idols, as Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 191 suggests, citing Dan 5:4, 23; 4Q242 frags. 1–3, 7–8.

Zechariah 14:4–5 additionally shares with 1:9 accompanying holy ones and with 52:6 the destruction of a mountain or mountains under the feet of the one coming.⁶² Although damage to mountains appears in several scriptural descriptions of divine visitation, the melting of mountains in 1:6 and 52:6 only has parallels in Psalm 97:5 and Micah 1:4.⁶³ Both speak of the mountains melting as wax before God. This description rather than Psalm 97:5 may lie behind the passages in *1 Enoch* since they mention God treading (וִדְרָד) on high places or mountains, corresponding to *yekayyed* in 1:4 and the son of man figure's feet in 52:6. The author's choice to use not only this description of divine visitation but the other vivid descriptions of divine visitation in Zechariah 14 and Micah 1 to speak of the coming of the son of man figure is striking. A further use by the Similitudes of a biblical text describing theophany for the son of man figure occurs in 51:4, which takes an image of dancing mountains from Psalm 114:4, 6 and applies it to the time of the son of man figure's enthronement. Psalm 114 eulogizes Israel's Exodus from Egypt, so in the psalm the dancing mountains probably refer to shaking at the Sinai theophany.

2.3.2 4 Ezra

Judgment plays a prominent role throughout *4 Ezra*, but the book shifts between discussing the judgment of the narrative present experienced in the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and Babylonian exile and future judgment at the time of the end.⁶⁴ It

⁶² Zech 14:4 is the only verse in the Old Testament with the nouns הַר and רֶגֶל which speaks either of divine visitation or damage to the mountain. More likely, the polemic against idolatry in Isaiah informs this text. The inability for silver and gold to save recurs in Isaianic polemic against idolatry, for example, in Isa 2:20, 13:17, 30:22, and 31:7. Isa 2:20, like the mention of the metals in *1 En.* 52, falls in a context of abandoning idols made of precious metals, the inability to flee from Yahweh's judgment, and the humbling of proud humanity.

⁶³ These are the only two places where a form of מָסַח occurs with mountains in the Old Testament. מָסַח occurs with mountains in a context of divine punishment in Nah 1:5 (cf. Ps 46:7; 75:4; Amos 9:5, 13). Other damage to mountains, including flattening, resulting from divine visitation occurs in Exod 19:18; Ps 18:8; Isa 40:4; 49:11; and Hab 3:6.

⁶⁴ See Karina Martin Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution*, JSJSup 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1–35 for a discussion of interpretative approaches to *4 Ezra*. While,

assumes and emphasizes God's role as judge throughout and, with a single exception, remains silent about the participation of others in any stage of the judgment process, including the administration of sentence. The exceptional figure, the messiah, appears in four passages: the interpreting angel mentions the future revelation of the messiah in 7:28–29, the Eagle Vision and the Vision of the Man from the Sea in chapters 11–12 and 13 each depict the messiah symbolically, and God mentions that Ezra will be with the messiah after his assumption in 14:9.⁶⁵ *Fourth Ezra* clearly distinguishes the messiah's judgment from the final judgment of God.

The final two visions indicate a date in the author's near future for the messiah's judgment. If the Eagle Vision includes the reigns of emperors until Domitian, the author seems to have expected the messiah to confront Rome within a couple decades at the book's writing.⁶⁶ If harmonization of all the book's mentions of the messiah is appropriate, the messiah will then appear, render his judgment (12:31–33), and remain for a period of joy

like Hogan, I view *4 Ezra* as a unified work structured with literary purpose, as essentially the work of one author, and as presenting dialogues external to the author's psyche, I am inclined to view Uriel as more reflective of the author's theological position than Hogan due to his function as a deliverer of divine revelation. Uriel is "sent" (አገልግሎት) to speak to Ezra, although he is not omniscient (4:52). Hogan cites as examples of conflict between Ezra's concluding position and Uriel's statements 8:1 with 10:11–14 and that "both the visions and Ezra's speeches to the people (12:46–49 and 14:28–36) affirm Ezra's belief in God's continued mercy towards Israel, which Uriel rigorously denies in the dialogues" (35). With regard to the former, the mourning of the earth does not necessarily exclude God's differing purposes of the first world and second world. Rather, it results from the evil of the many who inhabit it and their coming perdition in contrast to the coming world, which will not mourn since only the righteous will remain in it and they will not suffer for evil. Uriel never denies that some within Israel will benefit from God's mercy.

⁶⁵ Earlier scholarship sometimes perceived the messiah symbolized by the widow's son in chapters 9 and 10; see Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch*, 134–39 for a critique. Jonathan Moo, "A Messiah whom 'The Many Do not Know': Rereading 4 Ezra 5:6–7," *JTS*, n.s., 58 (2007): 525–36 proposes that 5:6–7 also refers to the messiah, which, if correct, would not add anything to the understanding of the figure's involvement in judgment.

⁶⁶ Many interpreters identify the heads with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. See, e.g., Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 182–85, including her critique of other identifications. Lorenzo DiTommaso, "Dating the Eagle Vision of *4 Ezra*: A New Look at an Old Theory," *JSP* 20 (1999): 3–38 argues that identifying the heads with Septimius Severus, Geta, and Caracalla better accommodates the details of the vision to the succession of emperors. DiTommaso's proposal includes viewing the preserved version of the Eagle Vision as a third-century redaction in recognition of problems with previous Severan proposals by others. Even if DiTommaso's proposal is correct, the presentation of the messiah and his judgment in the vision need not have been affected.

lasting 400 years (7:28; 12:34).⁶⁷ He and all other people on earth will then die, seven days will pass, and then all will be resurrected to God's judgment, both positive and negative (7:29–44). This “day of judgment” divides between the present and future ages in 7:113.⁶⁸ The messiah is thus an eschatological judgment figure in so much as he appears at ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ (“the end of days,” 12:32), but his judgment is not the final one in the eschatological framework.⁶⁹ The book does not mention any activity of the figure following the 400 years.

2.3.2.1 Nature of Judgment

The judgment throughout *4 Ezra* concerns humans and the book does not mention judgment of angels or other non-human beings. Divine judgment occurs both in life and at death. It occurs in life such that prior to the final judgment humans are judged during their life to a sentence of exile or death, or, in the case of the final judgment, are resurrected after death for judgment. It also occurs at death in that between death and resurrection human souls experience joy or sorrow in anticipation of their future judgment and its outcome (7:75–101).

⁶⁷ The versions vary concerning the duration of this period. While the Latin, Arabic 1, and Georgian specify 400 years, the Syriac, along with the Syro-Arabic, has thirty years, Arabic 2 has 1,000 years, and the Ethiopic and Armenian omit the duration. See A. Frederik J. Klijn, ed., *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra): Nach dem lateinischen Text unter Benutzung der anderen Versionen*, GCS 18 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 45; A.F.J. Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 1:537; and Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 202. Readings indicating a 400-year duration are preferable on both external and internal grounds. Externally, the 400 years appear in three separate versions, including versions from both of Robert P. Blake's *x* (Latin and Arabic 1) and *y* (Georgian) groups. See Robert P. Blake, “The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript,” *HTR* 19 (1926): 8–18; also Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 2–3. Since the Syro-Arabic derives from the Syriac, the readings for thirty and 1,000 years each do not have more than a single independent supporting versional witness. Internally, readings with 400 years are more difficult than those for thirty and 1,000 years. The numbers thirty and 1,000 could respectively derive from Luke 3:23 by associating, intuitively for a Christian translator or scribe, the death of the messiah in *4 Ezra* 7:29 with the death of Jesus after his ministry began when he was ὥσει ἐτῶν τριάκοντα and the 1,000 years from Rev 20 and other Christian millennial expectation.

⁶⁸ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ (“the day of judgment”) only refers to this time in *4 Ezra* and occurs in 7:38, 102, 104, 113; and 12:34. See Michael E. Stone, “Coherence and Inconsistency in the Apocalypses: The Case of ‘the End’ in *4 Ezra*,” *JBL* 102 (1983): 232n12 and Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 360 on the textual variation of the phrase in 12:34 in the versions.

⁶⁹ On the coherent use of “the end” (ܡܠܚܬܐ) in connection with different particular future events, including the beginning of the messianic period of joy and the change to the new world, see Stone, “Coherence and Inconsistency in the Apocalypses,” 229–43.

The messiah's judgment holds a more limited scope. The Eagle Vision notes only his judgment of the eagle, representing the final kingdom known from Daniel. The Vision of the Man from the Sea describes his judgment and destruction of peoples and kingdoms who leave war with each other to oppose him at Zion in 13:31–34, 37–38. Again in 13:41, the angel describes these people of the world, from whom the righteous ten tribes have separated, as *עַמְּךָ רַב* (“the multitude of peoples”), suggesting the universal scope of the messiah's judgment. The reference to the mountain from Daniel 2 in the vision reinforces this universal scope since Daniel 2:36 says of it *וּמִלֵּת כָּל־אֲרָעָא*. *Fourth Ezra* provides no indications that the messiah will judge any besides those living at the time of his appearance. Chapter 7 clearly distinguishes the final day of judgment in 7:40–42 from the earlier 400 years of the messiah in 7:28. The author of *4 Ezra* appears to view the final judgment as the prerogative of God alone.⁷⁰

The sentences resulting from negative judgment also distinguish the judgments of the messiah and of God. In the Eagle Vision and the Vision of the Man from the Sea the sentence of the messiah's judgment is death. Although the visions speak of burning, their interpretations reveal the burning to be symbolic (note particularly 13:38), so they may not refer specifically to death by burning. In the interpretation of the latter vision, the burning relates separately to the anticipated suffering the wicked will receive, apparently from God and not from the messiah himself, and their obliteration through the Law.⁷¹ Only God, however, condemns to hell or permits to enter *גַּן־עֵדֶן* (7:36, “the garden of delight”). *Fourth Ezra* speaks of *עֲוֹנוֹתָם* (“torment”) experienced by the wicked, both after death before the resurrection and after the final judgment, but not as a sentence of the messiah's judgment.

⁷⁰ Note particularly 6:6, where God compares the end with his solitary acts in creation. See similarly Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 210: “final judgment is clearly the realm of God alone.”

⁷¹ 9:11–12.

this mercy.⁷⁶ God's role as judge includes his ability to forgive sin in 7:139, but the book says nothing of the messiah forgiving or mediating forgiveness.

Consistent with the distinction between the messiah's judgment and God's later final judgment, *4 Ezra* emphasizes God as singularly bringing about the end in 5:56–6:6. Here God answers Ezra's question concerning through whom God will bring about the end by speaking comparatively in 6:6 of the elements of creation, אֶלֶּם הַיָּם וְהַיַּבֵּשׁ וְהָאֵשׁ וְהַמָּיִם וְהָאֲרָצִים וְהַשָּׁמַיִם, or even more pointedly in the Latin, *tunc cogitavi, et facta sunt haec par me et non per alium, ut et finis per me et non per alium*.⁷⁷ Moo's explanation of 6:1 applies for the whole paragraph:

The emphasis of 6:1 is on the fact that God is ultimately the one responsible for bringing about the end of the age. We have already begun to see the prominence of the theme of God's complete and exclusive sovereignty in *4 Ezra*, and here as elsewhere it entails the relegation of the Messiah and any other potential intermediaries to relatively minor, temporary roles.⁷⁸

2.3.2.2 Activity Associated with Judgment

Most of the actions of the figure in judgment have already been mentioned. The Eagle Vision clearly delineates the stages in the judgment process against the Eagle, presenting the messiah as participating in each of them: "11:38–43 are the indictment, 45–46 the pronouncement of sentence, and 12:1–3 its execution. In the interpretation, 12:33 is even more explicit."⁷⁹ He also acts for the benefit of the righteous. The living righteous will have joy during the messiah's 400-year reign in 7:28; 12:34 similarly presents the figure as bringing joy during his reign to the people, here specified as a remnant of Jewish people who

⁷⁶ 9:11–12.

⁷⁷ Klijn, *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra*, 39.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Moo, *Creation, Nature and Hope in 4 Ezra*, FRLANT 237 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 48.

⁷⁹ Michael Edward Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, SHR 14 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 301.

are in the land and whom the figure saves. The Vision of the Man from the Sea repeats the messiah's actions in negative judgment and his salvation of the remnant in the land while adding that he brings back the northern tribes from beyond the Euphrates. The book does not mention positive judgment for people who are not Jewish.

The messiah reigns as a royal figure. משיח ("the messiah"), which occurs in 7:28–29 (combined with בן, "my son") and 12:32, appears to be a recognized designation, and the book does not directly explain its significance. Although *4 Ezra* does not call the messiah a "king" or refer to him as "reigning,"⁸⁰ several features of his presentation clarify his royal position. Most clearly, 12:32 describes him as מלך דוד ("who arises from the seed of David"), identifying him in relation to the iconic king of Israel.⁸¹ Further, scriptural texts used in constructing this figure, particularly Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2 (including Mount Zion as the location of his activity and the designation בן ["my son"], as discussed below), present royal figures.⁸² As a royal figure, *4 Ezra* places central emphasis on his judgment. While כסא הדין ("the throne of judgment") is the location from which God issues judgment after the 400 years in 7:33, *4 Ezra* does not explicitly state that the messiah judges from a throne.⁸³ While likely that he would be assumed as judging from a throne, *4 Ezra* does not draw attention to a throne as the location from which he acts.

⁸⁰ Arabic II designates the figure in this way in 12:32 (see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 360), but the absence of this reading in the other versions indicates its secondary nature.

⁸¹ The Latin, which Klijn notes as corrupt, does not include the phrase identifying the messiah as from the seed of David, but it appears in the Syriac and Ethiopic, giving it representation in both *x* and *y* version groups. See Klijn, *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra)*, xvii, 96.

⁸² The lion symbol, while sometimes used for royal figures, is ambiguous in the Eagle Vision, since the symbol does not distinctively function in this manner in the literature relevant for comparison. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 209, 209n28 for references. Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 180 and Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 209 suggest that Gen 49:9–10 provides the lion as a symbol for the messiah. While possible, no other features of *4 Ezra* 11–12 clearly indicate use of Gen 49, and a lion could also be a more generic symbol (as in Dan 7:4).

⁸³ See also 8:21, where the word must be reconstructed in Syriac and judgment is not specified. Despite B.M. Metzger's translation of 12:33 in "The Fourth Book of Ezra," in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:550, the phrase there does not include the word.

The Vision of the Man from the Sea locates the messiah's activity at Mount Zion. The formation of the mountain in the vision furthers the use of Daniel by using Daniel 2:34–35, 44–45. In *4 Ezra* 13 the angel identifies the mountain as Mount Zion on which the messiah will stand and from which he will judge (13:35–38), probably using Psalm 2. Scriptural texts associating *צִיּוֹן* individually with a human figure only do so with the king: Psalms 2:6; 78:68; 110:2; 132:13; Isaiah 16:1; and Zechariah 9:9. In Psalm 2:6, Zion appears as the place where Yahweh installs his king, whom he gives universal dominion and who has authority to subject and punish rulers not subservient. Psalm 2 alone among these passages particularly mentions Mount Zion (Pss 110:2; 132:13; and Zech 9:9 do not speak of Zion specifically as a mountain) and features the king functioning as a judge of nations (Ps 110:6; Isa 16:5 mention the king's activity as judge, but this lacks in Ps 132 and Zech 9), God calling the king "my son," and unified opposition by nations directed at the king. If designation of the messiah as God's "son" reflects the original reading of *4 Ezra*, all four of these elements appear in *4 Ezra* 13:35–38, so use of Psalm 2 seems likely.⁸⁴ Additionally, Karina Martin Hogan believes 13:5 comes from Psalm 2:1–2.⁸⁵ The parallels are not precise, and the two passages share no obvious verbal parallels. Hogan, however, notes, "Ps 2:1–2 actually provides the closest parallel for the attack described in 13:5 and 8 . . . since the object of the attack is the man, not Jerusalem, and the enemy force is composed of many nations."⁸⁶ While alone this may not confirm use of Psalm 2, in combination with the other use of Psalm 2 already noted, it suggests that the psalm may have also informed this feature of the vision.

⁸⁴ Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 191–92 also notes Mount Zion in the vision as a reference to Ps 2, but she does not note the unique parallels between the two passages.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 187n69.

2.3.2.3 Nature of Figure

The limited description of the figure shows he possesses a human nature but also has some unusual traits tied to his unique role as the messiah. His davidic ancestry (12:32) and death with the rest of humanity (7:29) argue for his human nature, yet he also exists in a state of hiddenness prior to his eschatological activity. Existence prior to his eschatological activity is most clear in 13:52, which restricts the figure from humans living on earth, and 14:9, which promises Ezra's presence with the figure and others like Ezra during the period of hiddenness.⁸⁷ The inability of people on the earth to find the messiah in 14:52 suggests that the figure lives in a non-earthly place until his revelation.

The author may have maintained the ideas of hidden existence prior to eschatological activity and davidic ancestry without attempting to understand how they could relate to each other.⁸⁸ The seemingly contradictory ideas may have cohered for the author and audience, however, in at least four ways, combining the situations of birth (implied through the figure's davidic ancestry in *4 Ezra*), existence, and period of eschatological activity. First (Scenario A), a figure, after birth, may enter a period of hiddenness prior to the figure's principal activity. Death or assumption may commence the period of hiddenness. Examples of this scenario include the expected future return of Elijah (e.g., *Tg. Lam.* 4:22) and possibly Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek and, although its date and provenance remain difficult to determine, in *2 Enoch* 71–72.⁸⁹ While this does not contradict anything in *4 Ezra*, the absence of identification with a figure of the past gives reason to hesitate in suggesting this scenario.

⁸⁷ The figure's preexistence in *4 Ezra* is generally acknowledged; for other affirmations of his preexistence, see, e.g., Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 176; Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 187; and Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," 296, 303, 310. *4 Ezra* is ambiguous concerning how the other people in this verse are like Ezra. They seem to be an exceptional subset of the righteous, possibly who have been assumed to the presence of the figure without death.

⁸⁸ As in the view of Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 187–88.

⁸⁹ See the discussion of 11QMelch in §3.3.6. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 210 also notes the similarity between Melchizedek in this text and the messiah as preexistent descendant of David.

Second, (Scenario B) a figure may exist prior to birth and become incarnate through birth. It may have attestation in the primordial creation of the name of the messiah in some rabbinic literature, although whether creation of the messiah's name indicates messianic preexistence is unclear.⁹⁰ Combining this scenario with Scenario A by including preexistence and a period of hiddenness between birth and eschatological activity creates a third, that of incarnation and future return (Scenario C). This represents the view of Jesus that became Christian orthodoxy, whereby he existed prior to his birth and then, after a period of earthly activity, was assumed to heaven for a period of hiddenness prior to a future return. *Fourth Ezra* knows of disembodied human existence following death in 7:75–101, but existence prior to birth in Scenarios B and C raises the question of what the figure's special creation apart from human birth would imply for how his human nature relates to Adamic descent.⁹¹ The difficulties of Scenario A also obtain for C, which is therefore similarly less likely.

The final scenario, reincarnation (Scenario D), offers a figure returning for eschatological activity through a second birth. Matthew 16:14 (par. Mark 8:28; Luke 9:19; cf. Matt 14:2) and Luke 9:7–8 may seem to mention this view by some identifying Jesus as Jeremiah *redivivus* or another prophet from the past, but these texts may instead speak of people thinking of Jesus as Jeremiah resuscitated, since the idea of resurrection was demonstrably widely known in the period, in contrast to reincarnation. *Fourth Ezra* provides

⁹⁰ *B. Pes.* 54a includes the following, “Seven things were created before the world was made, and these are they: Torah, repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the throne of glory, the house of the sanctuary, and the name of the Messiah” (translation from Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud: A Translation and Commentary*, 22 vols. [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005]). A citation of Ps 72:17 follows for the name of the messiah. The same list appears with the same support from Ps 72:17 in *b. Ned.* 39b; *Midr. Mishlei* 8; *Pirke R. El.* 3.2 (citing Mic 5:2 along with Ps 72:17). Also similar is *Tanḥ. Naso* on Num 7:1. *Gen. Rab.* 1:4 includes a list of six (Torah, the throne of glory, the patriarchs, the temple, the name of the messiah, and repentance) but divides them between those that God created before the world and those he considered before the creation of the world. The messiah's name is among the latter. *Midr. Tehillim* 93:2 merely presents a list of six things God considered before the creation of the world, including the messiah (rather than his name).

⁹¹ Notably, *4 Ezra* mentions Adam in 3:4–7, 10, 21, 26; 7:11, 70, 116–118, emphasizing his role as ancestor of the human race.

no indication of a second birth nor of even the idea of reincarnation, nor is reincarnation a demonstrably common contemporary Jewish idea. In summary, the limited details in *4 Ezra* allow for all four of these scenarios. D, however, seems unlikely, and B would provide the simplest explanation. If B does indeed correctly represent the figure in *4 Ezra*, the book presents the figure coherently but, due to his origin, to some extent as extraordinary.

No features associate the figure specifically with angelic nature. The figure may retain a human nature through transformation, as when figures enter heaven in *1 Enoch* 71 and *3 Enoch* 4–16 (although the latter dates significantly later and the former may be a late addition). *Third Enoch* continues to emphasize the human nature of the figure during the transformation (see 4:6–10; 6:2–3), indicating that the figure’s nature becomes a kind of transcendent humanity rather than becoming angelic through metamorphosis. The figure’s extraordinarily long life in 7:28 may result from such a transcendent human nature, but this longevity may characterize people of that future time and may express ideas like those in Isaiah 65:20.

2.3.2.4 Principal Use of Scripture

Three primary texts provide material for constructing the figure in *4 Ezra*: Daniel 7 with its surrounding passages, Psalm 2, and Isaiah 11.⁹² The only citation occurs in 12:11, which identifies the eagle in the Eagle Vision with the fourth kingdom of Daniel 7. This vision and the Vision of the Man from the Sea have stylistic resemblance to the visions throughout Daniel, although linguistic parallels are more obvious in the latter. In the former, the identification of the eagle with Daniel’s fourth kingdom directs the audience to associate its judgment and destruction by the lion/messiah with the supersession of the fourth kingdom

⁹² Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 198 calls the Vision of the Man from the Sea “a midrashic *tour-de-force*, combining allusions to divine warrior theophanies, Psalm 2, Isaiah 11, Daniel 2 and Daniel 7.”

by the universal, lasting kingdom of the Ancient of Days, his people, and the **כבר אנש** in Daniel 7. The joy of the righteous through the messiah that follows similarly looks to this final kingdom in Daniel. The Vision of the Man from the Sea also places Daniel 7 as its background by using language from Daniel 7:2–3 in 13:1–2.⁹³ This vision suggests the identification of the man with the **כבר אנש** by their primary designation as men and their association with clouds. The vision in *4 Ezra* does not, however, portray its figure approaching God in an exalted manner as does Daniel 7, and it emphasizes his role as judge more clearly. The emphasis on judgment may result from the use of Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11 with Daniel 7 as well as from the use of Daniel 7 in the Eagle Vision.

As Hogan notes, the Eagle Vision emphasizes the role of its figure as a judge more than Daniel.⁹⁴ Rather than putting the figure in the place of Daniel's Ancient of Days, however, as in her understanding, the vision may clarify ambiguity by presenting the figure as performing actions for which Daniel does not specify agents. Daniel 7:26 does not state who will administer the judgment against the fourth kingdom in that verse. While in Daniel the parallel of 7:26 with 7:22 suggests that the Ancient of Days judges, the author of the Eagle Vision may have taken advantage of the lack of specification in verse 26 to highlight the judgment role of its messiah. This would display a deliberate desire to emphasize the messiah's function as a judge.

⁹³ Note the close correspondence of **חזיה הוית בחזוי עם-ליליא** with **חזיה הוית בחזוי עם-ליליא** and **חזיה הוית בחזוי עם-ליליא** with **חזיה הוית בחזוי עם-ליליא**, and **חזיה הוית בחזוי עם-ליליא** with **חזיה הוית בחזוי עם-ליליא**. *Fourth Ezra* may have used stock apocalyptic imagery, perhaps still originating from Daniel. The use of Dan 7 already in the Eagle Vision (which suggests the same text informed the writing of 13:1–2), the close correspondence between the beginning of the Vision of the Man from the Sea and Dan 7, and the vision's use of other elements in Dan 7, however, argue in favor of use of the introduction to Daniel's vision.

⁹⁴ Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 181–82.

Fourth Ezra 13:10 highlights the imagery of fire from the figure's mouth through three expressions ܦܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ("fountain of fire"), ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ("flaming wind"), and ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ("stormy destruction")/*scintillas tempestatis*.⁹⁵ Daniel 7:9–10 features a river of fire, the closest scriptural parallel to the fountain of fire,⁹⁶ and similarly includes three expressions including fire: ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ, ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ (Syriac ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ, ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ, and ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ).⁹⁷ The placing of the fire in the mouth of the figure corresponds to fire from the mouth of God (2 Sam 22:9; Ps 18:8; Isa 30:27, etc.) and from the mouths of those who deliver words of God, as in Jeremiah 5:14 and 23:29 (cf. Rev 11:5).⁹⁸ The image may function in this latter manner to present the figure as someone who speaks the Law of God in judgment against the nations, but that it portrays him in a manner ordinarily used for God requires note.

Related to this fire, melting at the voice of the figure in 13:4 repeats the motif of melting before God in scriptural texts, but it may not allude to one particular text. The closest parallel appears in Psalm 46:7, the only verse in the Old Testament in which both קוֹל and the verb מוֹג occur.⁹⁹ The correspondence of ܕܥܝܪܐ in 13:3 to מוֹג in Psalm 46:7 would further support the use of this verse. The significance of this imagery, however, lies in its use in

⁹⁵ Klijn, *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra)*, 99. The Ethiopic makes the presence of fire in the storm even clearer.

⁹⁶ Hogan similarly sees the fountain in *4 Ezra* as derived from the river in Daniel in *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 187, 187n71. The river of fire before the throne also occurs in the Similitudes of Enoch in 71:2 and 6, which takes from 14:8–23 in the Book of the Watchers, including its rivers of fire (*'aflāga*) from God's throne in 14:19.

⁹⁷ Peshiṭta Institute, ed., "Daniel and Bel and the Dragon," in *Dodekapropheton – Daniel-Bel-Draco*, Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version, Part III, fascicle 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 28.

⁹⁸ Stone seems to overlook these latter texts when he states, "other than our present passage, the passages in which fire is specifically mentioned all refer to God," Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 387.

⁹⁹ *Niph'al* מוֹס never occurs with קוֹל in the Old Testament.

connection with God in other texts, as noted by Stone.¹⁰⁰ The emphasis, however, is on the figure as a speaker of the Law from God, particularly in light of the interpretation's explanation of the fire from the figure's mouth, which builds upon the melting before his voice. It presents the figure as a deliverer of the divine words of the Law, which become the means of judgment and result in the destruction of wicked nations.

Outside of the visions, *4 Ezra* may use Daniel in the passage mentioning the messiah in chapter 7. The death of the figure after 400 years may derive from Daniel 9:26, in which the messiah is cut off after sixty-two weeks. Sixty-two weeks of years calculates to 434 years, which, although inexact, is not much beyond the 400 years of 7:28. This would identify the **כבר אנש** of Daniel 7:13 with the **משיח** of Daniel 9:25–26 in the interpretation of the author of *4 Ezra*. Alternatively, the 400 years could reflect an attempt to parallel entrance to the new world with the Exodus, the other place in the Old Testament that speaks of a 400-year period, as suggested by Stone.¹⁰¹

בן (“my son”) designates the figure in 13:32, 37, 52; and 14:9, and **בן עבד** (“my son the servant”) occurs twice at his first appearance in 7:28–29. This epithet most likely comes from Psalm 2. Versional variation in the meaning of the words that appear at the place of **בן** complicates determining its significance, particularly whether they derive from an original meaning “my son” or “my servant.”¹⁰² Stone argues that the various readings come

¹⁰⁰ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 385.

¹⁰¹ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 405. Arthur J. Ferch, “The Two Aeons and the Messiah in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch,” *AUSS* 15 (1977): 143n37 suggests that the 400 years are taken from the length of the davidic dynasty. This seems unlikely since the number is not exact nor does any text of the Old Testament draw attention to 400 years as its length.

¹⁰² See Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 208 for a tabular listing of readings. The Latin and Syriac consistently read son, sometimes with additional elaborating words, as does the Ethiopic in 13:37, 52; 14:9. The Ethiopic, however, has *masiḥeya* in 7:28, *kwel'ēya masiḥeya* in 7:29, and *we'etu be'si* in 13:32. The Georgian only contains 7:28 and 29, in both of which it renders *electus unctus meus*. Arabic 1 and 2 tend to use *qt'y*, although in 7:28 Arabic 1 has *wldy 'lmsyḥ* and Arabic 2 has *'lmsyḥ dei*, and Arabic 2 has *'abdy* in 14:9 and, in manuscript B, in 13:52. Neither Arabic version includes an equivalent word in 7:29. The Armenian has *latissimus* in 13:32,

from Greek παῖς from an original Hebrew עֶבֶד.¹⁰³ He reasons that Christian translators would more likely vary in translation of παῖς than change the meaning of a word meaning “son” and, in response to viewing “my son” as use of Psalm 2, claims that “the one source that might support a messianic interpretation of Ps 2:7 [*b. Sukka* 52a] is much too late to serve as evidence for 4 Ezra.”¹⁰⁴

Hogan offers four arguments in support of an original reading meaning “son”: the person who translated from Hebrew to Greek may have been Jewish, rather than Christian, and chosen not to use the designation υἱὸς θεοῦ; second, *Wisdom of Solomon* 2:13 and 2:18 use υἱὸς θεοῦ and παῖς θεοῦ synonymously; third, *4 Ezra* does not draw from Isaiah’s presentation of the servant but alludes to Psalm 2; and fourth, *4QFlorilegium* and 4Q246 are probably examples of messianic use of Psalm 2.¹⁰⁵ She also observes that the Greek archetypes may have differed, resulting in “my son” readings in the versions derived from one (Latin and Syriac, with “my child” in Arabic 1) archetype and different readings in the other versions.¹⁰⁶

Additional arguments may be offered on both sides concerning the reading of the Greek version.¹⁰⁷ In response to Hogan’s third argument, *4 Ezra* could derive “my servant” from

secretus altissimi in 13:52, and *cum mihi* in 14:9, while the Sahidic also has a reading for “son” in 13:32, but they do not contain readings for the other verses.

¹⁰³ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 207–208.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 207–208, quotation from 208.

¹⁰⁵ Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra*, 195–98 with notes. On 4Q246, see my chapter on Qumran literature.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 195n93.

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Gerö alternatively proposes on the basis of the Georgian reading that the Greek contained ἐλεγκτός from Hebrew בָּר in 7:28–29, but this suggestion is unlikely; Stephen Gerö, “‘My Son the Messiah’: A Note on 4Esr 7 28–29,” *ZNW* 66 (1975): 264–67. See the brief critique of this proposal in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 207n19.

scriptural texts besides Isaiah. David appears as the servant of Yahweh many times in scriptural texts, often in the first person, particularly when the promise of his continuing dynasty is in view.¹⁰⁸ Since 13:32 identifies the figure as a descendant of David, “my servant” could relate to the figure’s davidic identity in a manner just as fitting as an allusion to Psalm 2. On the side of Hogan, regardless of the possible use of Psalm 2 specifically, various scriptural texts designate royal figures as the son of God,¹⁰⁹ making “my son” an appropriate epithet for the figure in *4 Ezra*. Diverse New Testament texts roughly contemporary with *4 Ezra* also use Psalm 2 for Jesus as the messiah.¹¹⁰ To this may be added the occurrence of עֶבֶד (“servant”)/*servum* for David in 3:23. While the translators of *4 Ezra* into Greek or into Syriac and Latin may not have consistently rendered terms, that the Syriac and Latin, which consistently render the epithet in the verses listed in the table, both differ in the same manner in 3:23 suggests that their *Vorlagen* may also have made this distinction. Finally, outside of 7:29, the Ethiopic supports the reading “son,” and the translation in manuscripts G and F of the Ethiopic, being the ordinary rendering of the “son of man” epithets for Jesus in the Gospels, would more easily render a phrase using υἱός than παῖς. The case for an original “son” seems stronger in my opinion. The double use of παῖς for Jesus immediately after the quotation from Psalm 2 in Acts 4:27 and 30 suggests that even an original παῖς in Greek may have easily been tied to the conception of a messianic figure associated with Psalm 2.

¹⁰⁸ Note, e.g., עֶבֶד in 2 Sam 7:5, 8; 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 34, 36, 38; 1 Chron 17:4, 7; Pss 89:4, 21; Jer 33:21, 22, 26; Ezek 34:23, 24; 37:24, 25; עֶבֶד in 2 Sam 7:20, 26; 1 Kgs 8:24, 25, 26; 1 Chron 17:18, 24; 2 Chron 6:15, 16, 17, 42 (note מְשִׁיחַ); Ps 132:10 (note מְשִׁיחַ); עֶבֶד in 1 Kgs 8:66; 2 Kgs 8:19; Pss 78:70; 144:10.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. 2 Sam 7:14, Pss 2:7; 89:27–28.

¹¹⁰ Acts 4:25–26; 13:33; Heb 1:5; 5:5; Rev 2:27; 12:5; 19:15, possibly also Mark 1:11; Rev 11:15.

Isaiah 11 also shows its influence on the construction of the figure. Stone views Isaiah 11:4 as having a “deep influence” on 13:10–11.¹¹¹ Within a passage about a future davidic king, Isaiah 11:4 states, *והכה־אֶרֶץ בְּשֶׁבֶט פִּיּוֹ וּבִרְוַח שְׁפָתָיו יִמִּית רָשָׁע*. Similarly, *4 Ezra* 13:10–11 explains that the messiah will not use a weapon against the enemy nations and contains the corresponding *פִּי* (“mouth”), *שִׁפְטָאֵי* (“lips”), and *נְשָׁמָה* (“breath”) when speaking of his means of judgment. *Psalms of Solomon* 17:23–24 attests to the association of Psalm 2:9 with Isaiah 11:4, linked through *שֶׁבֶט*, as Stone notes.¹¹² Such linking appears to occur also in *4 Ezra*, where the interpretation of this element of the vision appears in the middle of material from Psalm 2.

Finally, in 13:12–13 the Man from the Sea descends from the mountain, people go to him both in joy and sorrow, and some bring people to “offer” them. The image of Zion as the location for seeking God at the time of eschatological restoration and peace occurs in the prophetic literature, particularly in Isaiah, where some of the most significant passages are 2:2–4 (cf. Mic 4:1–4); 25:6–9; and 66:20. Daniel Boyarin considers the last of these the source of 13:12–13 and thus argues for the divinity of the messiah in *4 Ezra* since the Isaiah passage speaks of people brought as offerings to Yahweh.¹¹³ *Fourth Ezra* 13:13 does not clarify, however, whether the people are brought to the messiah or to God by bringing them to Zion after the messiah has appeared. For the messiah to be divine here would seem to conflict with his presentation elsewhere in the book as a human, albeit an exceptional one, whose activities are significantly distinguished from those of God.

¹¹¹ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 212n36.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 386.

¹¹³ Daniel Boyarin, “Enoch, Ezra, and the Jewishness of ‘High Christology,’” in *“Fourth Ezra” and “Second Baruch”: Reconstruction after the Fall*, eds. Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini, with the collaboration of Jason M. Zurawski, JSJSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 351.

2.3.3 2 Baruch

Judgment plays a significant thematic role in 2 *Baruch*. As 4 *Ezra*, the book shifts between discussion of the judgment of the narrative present and future judgment at the time of the end. It stresses God's role as judge and, with the exception of the messiah, makes no mention of other agents as judges. The only other agents in any stage of the judgment process appear in chapters 7 and 8, where angels implement punishment against Jerusalem through exposing the city to the Babylonians. These angels function to execute sentence and do not themselves judge. The messiah appears in three parts of the book. The explanation of the end in chapters 29 and 30 mentions the messiah in 29:3 and 30:1 but does not mention his judgment. The messiah appears judging and sentencing the ruler of the fourth kingdom and those who follow him in the interpretation of the Vision of the Vine and the Cedar in 39:7 and 40:1.¹¹⁴ Finally, the interpretation of the Apocalypse of the Cloud speaks of the messiah either killing the nations or permitting them to live, and then of him sitting on the throne of his kingdom in 70:9 and 72:2–73:1. I approach the three sections as complementary in a manner similar to Liv Ingeborg Lied.¹¹⁵

2.3.3.1 Nature of Judgment

Like 4 *Ezra*, 2 *Baruch* clearly distinguishes the messiah's judgment from God's final judgment. The passages specifying the messiah as a judge provide little detail about his acts of judgment. In the interpretation of the Vision of the Vine and the Cedar in chapters 39 and

¹¹⁴ See Liv Ingeborg Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel: Imaginations of the Land in "2 Baruch"*, JSJSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 187n4 for references on the name of this section and of the Apocalypse of the Cloud.

¹¹⁵ Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 186–241; see esp. her explanation on 195. Recent scholarship tends to view 2 *Baruch* as essentially a unified literary composition, possibly including the closing epistle, although this does not exclude the incorporation of material from sources. See Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 24–25; Lied, "Recent Scholarship on 2 *Baruch*: 2000–2009," 249–51. For an extended treatment of the Epistle, see Whitters, *The Epistle of Second Baruch*, including 1–32 on the text of 2 *Baruch* and of the Epistle, and 35–65 on the contents of 2 *Baruch* and the Epistle and the relationship of their contents. For arguments from a literary perspective for the secondary nature of the epistle, see Gwendolyn B. Saylor, *Have the Promises Failed?: A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch*, SBLDS Series 72 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984), 98–101.

40, the figure's emergence results in the supplanting of the great fourth kingdom and the death of its armies. In 40:1 the figure not only destroy enemies, executing a sentence, but judges the final leader of the kingdom and his followers on Mount Zion. This passage contains no explicit reference to the figure judging anyone outside of the fourth kingdom.

The final appearance of the figure in the interpretation of the Apocalypse of the Cloud identifies him as a universal judge, determining the verdict for all peoples based on how they have treated Israel and placing a sentence of death on those who have mistreated Israel in 72:2–6. Those whom the figure judges have survived the series of disasters that chapter 70 describes, as 70:9 makes clear. The book specifies nothing further concerning the nature of the messiah's judgment, and it does not mention forgiveness as part of his positive judgment.

The messiah's judgment differs from the judgment to occur when the present world ends and the new one begins. This judgment is also universal (48:32, 38, 40, 42–43), but it extends to the living and all the dead, who will be resurrected (50:2–51:7). God himself appears as the judge for this judgment with no other agents mentioned.¹¹⁶ Nothing will be exempt from his judgment (83:2–3, 7).

The only sentence of the messiah's negative judgment that 2 *Baruch* mentions is death. The wicked, however, will enter fiery torment when the new world appears (44:15; 48:43; cf. 59:2; 85:13). Other mentions of their destiny of suffering appear in 44:13; 46:7; 51:6; 52:3; 54:14, 15; an isolated occurrence of גהנום (“Gehenna”) appears in 59:10. Since the book does not associate this punishment with the messiah's judgment, it seems to be the sentence from judgment by God apart from the messiah's judgment.

¹¹⁶ Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 208n105 concurs with this distinction.

2.3.3.2 Activity Associated with Judgment

The first passage mentioning the figure, chapters 29–30, does not identify the figure as performing any actions, although the beginning of the messiah’s revelation in 29:3 inaugurates a period of abundance for Israel.¹¹⁷ The passage refers to this period as *ܠܝܝܡܝܢ* (“those years”), implying a duration of at least a few years, possibly many. It continues by saying that when the time of the messiah’s coming (*ܡܠܚܬܐ*) is complete, *ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ* (30:1).¹¹⁸ Pierre Bogaert, Daniel Gurtner, and A.F.J. Klijn render the phrase in their translations as to “return in/with glory.”¹¹⁹ This return most naturally refers to a return to God or heaven, as in the interpretations of Bogaert, Davila, Arthur J. Ferch, Lester L. Grabbe, and Lied.¹²⁰ This return would remove the messiah from the present earth for its end and exempt him from the imminent final judgment.¹²¹ At this time a general resurrection will occur.¹²² The

¹¹⁷ The messiah clearly acts in other passages of 2 *Baruch*, however, and this passage probably implies activity, e.g., as Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 193n51 notes in connection with Behemoth and Leviathan (although 3 *En.* 45:5, which she cites, appears to refer to wicked nations rather than “chaos monsters”).

¹¹⁸ Henze leaves open that 30:1, at least as it stands in the preserved text, has resulted from Christian editing; *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 297. See, however, Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 130 for an argument against 30:1 as a Christian interpolation.

¹¹⁹ “il retournera dans la gloire,” Pierre Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch: Introduction, traduction du syriaque et commentaire*, 2 vols., SC 144 (Paris: Les éditions du cerf, 1969), 1:243; “he will return in glory,” Gurtner, *Second Baruch: A Critical Edition of the Syriac Text*, 67; “he returns with glory,” Klijn, “2 Baruch,” 631.

¹²⁰ Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 2:65; Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, 130; Ferch, “The Two Aeons and the Messiah in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch,” 149–50; Lester L. Grabbe, “4 Ezra and 2 Baruch in Social and Historical Perspective,” in Henze, Boccaccini, and Zurawski, “Fourth Ezra” and “Second Baruch”, 224; Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 189n14, 196–97. Although Lied understands Bogaert as suggesting that this departure signifies death, Bogaert, while he finds a parallel in the death of the messiah in 4 *Ezra* 7:29, makes clear elsewhere that he does not think 2 *Bar.* 30:1 indicates whether the messiah dies or not. See Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1:417.

¹²¹ Some writers, such as J.H. Charlesworth (“From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology: Some Caveats and Perspectives,” in Neusner, Green, and Frerichs, *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, 246–47) and Henze (*Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 296–97) interpret 30:1 to refer to a return to earth after an earlier departure. This interpretation, however, requires an earlier departure from earth during his kingdom and assumes the messiah’s active involvement in the resurrection. The book never mentions either, and 4 *Ezra* shows that a general resurrection does not require a messiah living on earth.

¹²² Henze writes that the messiah “presides at the resurrection of the dead to usher in a new reality,” *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 255. The passage only states that the resurrection will occur

righteous will rise in anticipation of joy and the wicked in anticipation of suffering and destruction (30:1–5).¹²³ The placement of the resurrection at the time this world changes to the new world is consistent with chapter 50. Notably, the messiah departs prior to the resurrection and final judgment by God, and the book is silent concerning his participation in either.

The second reference to the figure occurs in the Vision of the Vine and the Cedar in 36–42, which features him centrally as the vine. The vine’s fountain destroys the forest except for the cedar, which the vine individually indicts in 36:7–10. This indictment resembles that of the lion against the eagle in the Eagle Vision of *4 Ezra* and includes both accusations/evaluation in 36:7–8 and declaration of sentence in 36:9–10. The cedar experiences this sentence by burning in 37:1, the vine grows, and flowers appear where the forest and mountains had been before. The interpretation explains the forest as the fourth in a series of kingdoms and the cedar as the ruler of that kingdom. When **מלכותי יתגלה** (“the reign of my messiah will be revealed”), this **מלכותי** (“reign of my messiah”), which the fountain in the vision symbolizes, will destroy the armies of this ruler, leaving him alone to be taken captive for the messiah’s judgment at Mount Zion. The messiah indicts the ruler for his wickedness and that of his followers, kills him, and protects the people God has chosen. The messiah’s kingdom then remains until the end of the world (40:3).

at this time, however, and if the messiah “returns” by leaving earth to go to heaven, he may not even be present on earth when the resurrection occurs.

¹²³ Henze believes that only the righteous are resurrected and that the wicked remain disembodied souls; Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 310. *Second Baruch* does not contain any statements specifically contrary to his interpretation, but I am inclined to consider a resurrection including the wicked more likely because people rise to judgment (which could be both positive and negative) and because of the occurrence of this idea in other literature (e.g., Dan 12:2; *4 Ezra* 7:32, 37).

ܡܠܝܟܐ in 39:7 and ܡܠܝܟܐ in 40:3 pose a problem for interpretation. Gurtner translates both as “reign,”¹²⁴ Klijn as “dominion,”¹²⁵ and Bogaert as “empire.”¹²⁶ Although “his beginning” seems a more natural translation of ܡܠܝܟܐ alone, the passage does not seem to allow for reading the word as having this meaning. In 40:3, ܡܠܝܟܐ must last ܠܠܡܕ. Some have suggested the words may render Greek ἀρχή, and, regardless of whether this is correct, Bogaert correctly understands the sense: “il est probable que, dans ce contexte comme en XL, 3, il n’est pas question du début du Messie mais de son empire. En XXIX, 4, le début de la révélation du Messie et, en XXX, 1, l’achèvement de son règne sont explicitement signalés; mais ici il s’agit plus normalement de la puissance avec laquelle il doit vaincre le quatrième royaume.”¹²⁷ The messiah thus has a kingdom, indicating royal activity, but his kingdom lasts temporarily until the end of the world.¹²⁸

Following the messiah’s judgment in chapters 70 and 72, chapters 73–74 describe the blessings of the messianic kingdom.¹²⁹ These chapters depict his reign, symbolized as the last bright waters, as a time of joy, peace between people and in the natural order, fruitful work

¹²⁴ Gurtner, *Second Baruch: A Critical Edition of the Syriac Text*, 75.

¹²⁵ Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” 633.

¹²⁶ Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1:488–89. On 39:7, Bogaert proposes ἀρχή as likely resulting in Syriac ܡܠܝܟܐ and reasons, “il est probable que, dans ce contexte comme en XL, 3, il n’est pas question du début du Messie mais de son empire”; *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 2:74.

¹²⁷ Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 2:74. Henze retains the reference to a “beginning” and inserts “the reign of” in his translation of 39:7. He writes that to remove “beginning” is “to miss the point of the text: the first visitation of the messiah merely marks the initial phase of this sovereignty, a period that is still part of this world. The transition to the kingdom of God has not yet happened,” see Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in First Century Israel*, 295n150, 299, 300. Alternatively, the revelation of “the beginning of my messiah” may recall 29:3. On that text, Henze writes against proposed emendation, “The phrase ‘the Messiah will begin to be revealed’ stresses that the feast merely marks the initial stage of the messianic presence. The meal only represents the beginning of the messianic revelation, not yet its fulfillment. It is only the first phase, with more still to come,” Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in First Century Israel*, 296.

¹²⁸ See recently Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 195–97 on the beginning, end, and temporary duration of the Messianic kingdom as I have interpreted it here, including references and response to the view that it is eternal.

¹²⁹ See *ibid.*, 237n223 on the throne in 73:1 as most likely that of the messiah rather than God.

without weariness, and the absence of anything evil or troubling. The elements of the description correspond to the details of future restoration and blessing in Isaiah, as discussed below.

2.3.3.3 Nature of Figure

As in the Similitudes and 4 *Ezra*, the messiah appears to be a human but with extraordinary characteristics. *Second Baruch* remains vague concerning his origin. The language of revelation occurs when speaking of his emergence in 29:3 and of the beginning of his kingdom in 39:7. As the text presently stands, 73:1 also speaks of a revelation of the messiah in delight (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܠܚܐ) after he takes his throne. Bogaert and Klijn emend by removing the ܐ preposition.¹³⁰ Although the figure has appeared prior to this time, his revelation here could refer to further revelation of the figure at the time of the realization of the delight associated with him and his kingdom, so emendation may not be necessary. This would correspond to the time of the revelation in 39:7, since the messiah would have already appeared to destroy his enemies prior to the appearance of his own kingdom in the sequence of chapters 72 and 73. While Christopher Rowland does not think the revelation language demonstrably indicates preexistence,¹³¹ Matthias Henze states that the language of revelation in 29:3 “implies that the Messiah is a transcendental figure and that he is preexistent.”¹³² In

¹³⁰ Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 2:128; Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” 645. Gurtner’s translation also follows the emendation (*Second Baruch*, 117). Bogaert reasons that the messiah could not be revealed subsequent to his initial appearance. The emendation also strengthens the parallel with ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܠܚܐ immediately following. The ܐ is present in 1312, 1313, and 1515, making it attested in all available textual witnesses. W. Baars, “Neue Textzeugen der syrischen Baruchapokalypse,” *VT* 13 (1963): 478 indicates only the addition of a period after ܡܠܟܐ in 1312 and 1313 here, and S. Dederling, ed., “Apocalypse of Baruch,” in *Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Esdras*, The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version, Part IV, fascicle 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 41 does not mention any variants in this verse, indicating the presence of the ܐ in 1515.

¹³¹ Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 177. See note 140 above on creation of the name of the messiah before the creation of the world.

¹³² Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 295. Henze elsewhere cites the revelation language in 29:3; 39:7; and 73:1 as possibly indicating preexistence, but only the first of these speaks of the initial revelation of the figure himself (see the discussion of 39:7 above; 73:1, in the text as preserved, must indicate further revelation of the figure where the delight associated with him is realized). See *Jewish*

support of Henze, neither *2 Baruch* nor *4 Ezra* uses verbs of the root אָלַף (“reveal”) for other figures not previously existing. Similar language of revelation occurs in 29:4 for Behemoth and Leviathan whom God created on the fifth day and who therefore exist prior to their eschatological revelation. Use of verbs of root אָלַף for the messiah in *4 Ezra* 7:28 and 13:32 further supports Henze’s interpretation since *4 Ezra* more clearly presents its figure as preexistent, so the preexistence of the messiah seems likely. The book provides no information concerning how early this preexistence extends.

Besides language of the messiah’s revelation, the return of the messiah in glory in 30:1 has implications for the messiah’s emergence. If he returns gloriously to heaven, he exists in heaven prior to coming to earth and is probably different than an ordinary human in this respect. This existence in heaven could result from either origination in heaven or prior transfer to heaven after an earlier earthly existence. The two possibilities correspond to Scenarios A and B in the discussion of the nature of the figure in *4 Ezra* above.

Nowhere does *2 Baruch* directly identify the figure in his nature as human, angelic, divine, or other, but the text appears to assume a human nature. It never describes the figure in angelic terms, even though it does not hesitate to compare the glorified righteous to angels in 51:5, 10. Although *2 Baruch* uses similar expressions to speak of God and the figure protecting the righteous,¹³³ locates both of them on thrones, and identifies both as rulers who judge, the text distinguishes the messiah’s activities from God’s, presents them in more limited ways, and stresses the singularity of God as supreme ruler and judge. Lied indicates

Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel, 333n24. Nicolae Roddy, “‘Two Parts: Weeks of Seven Weeks’: The End of the Age as *Terminus ad Quem* for *2 Baruch*,” *JSP* 14 (1996): 6n14 also understands the figure as preexistent. While the presence of the lightning on top of the cloud at the beginning of the Vision of the Cloud in 53:1 might seem to indicate preexistence, this itself does not clearly do so since the cloud also contains the bright and dark waters, symbolizing the successive periods of history on earth, before their historical realization.

¹³³ Particularly 29:2 and 40:2. The land also is said to protect them in 71:1. See on protection in these verses Lied, *Other Lands of Israel*, 202–206.

that “the Messiah has two important aspects of divine leadership ascribed to him in [the Vision of the Cloud]” through his judgment and the vision’s portrayal of him as a warrior.¹³⁴ These functions are not unique to divine leadership, however, nor does the messiah exercise these roles in a clearly divine fashion.¹³⁵

The principal epithet designating the figure in *2 Baruch*, מָשִׁיחַ (“the messiah”), occurs in this form in 29:3 and 30:1, with the first person suffix in 39:7; 40:1; and 72:2, and as חֵבֶדִּי, מַסְכֵּנִי (“my servant the messiah”) in 70:9. This epithet indicates nothing clearly about the figure’s nature, although the usual use of words for messiah to designate human figures would argue for the figure’s human nature. Whether the messiah has davidic ancestry, which would indicate human nature, is unclear. Although Henze asserts of the author that “surely he would have said so” if the messiah were davidic,¹³⁶ this is an argument from silence and does not account for what the author may have assumed to be readers’ conception of the messiah. While davidic ancestry remains uncertain, assuming the messiah’s human nature is reasonable since he behaves as a human in waging war with Israel’s enemies, judging them, and ruling over his kingdom.

Despite the messiah’s activity in judgment, *2 Baruch* stresses God himself as the singular supreme ruler and judge. He is the overseer of the world who will judge everything in 83:7. God’s emphatic אֲנִי אֵלֹהִים וְאֵין מִדְּמוּתִי וְאֵין מִשְׁכָּנִי וְאֵין מִשְׁכָּלִי וְאֵין מִשְׁכָּלִי וְאֵין מִשְׁכָּלִי וְאֵין מִשְׁכָּלִי (“and I, even over everything there is, I judge”) in 19:4 presents him as universal judge in a manner at least suggesting that, even if anyone else participates in judgment, all judgment must be constitutive of his or subordinate

¹³⁴ Ibid., 194n53.

¹³⁵ The role of king includes performing judicial functions throughout ANE literature and the Old Testament, on which see throughout Keith W. Whitlam, *The Just King: Monarchical Judicial Authority in Ancient Israel*, JSOTSup 12 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1979). Lied notes that ruling was conceived as including judgment in *The Other Lands of Israel*, 66n32. Further, not all warriors in Jewish literature exercise divine leadership.

¹³⁶ Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 303n182.

to it. In 21:7, Baruch recognizes God alone as having complete and unrestrained sovereignty and ability to do what he desires. Again, 83:2–3 repeatedly uses phrases expressing the comprehensiveness of God’s final judgment, and other verses emphasizing his judgment are 13:8; 20:4; 32:1; 48:27; 50:4; and 83:11. His role as judge relates to his identity as creator in 44:4–6 and 82:2, and 48:39 speaks of him singularly as *שׁוֹפֵט* (“the judge”) who will come in a manner like that in Psalms 96:13 and 98:9. The brief presentation of the messiah’s judgment, accomplished through battle at a time distinct from God’s final judgment and extending only to those living at that time, differs from this presentation of God’s judgment and rule. The messiah’s roles of judge and warrior, therefore, are not due to participating in divinity. Rather, they are part of his limited royal function. God judges, however, because he is at all times the universal king and, as creator, the single supreme judge of everything.

2.3.3.4 Principal Use of Scripture

The passages in 2 *Baruch* about the messiah do not cite any texts, but they contain scriptural ideas. While certain ideas in scriptural texts occur in 2 *Baruch*, these often do not occur with lexical correspondence sufficient to argue for direct allusions. Four scriptural texts, however, appear to serve as primary texts informing and shaping the portrayal of the messiah: Daniel 7 with associated eschatological material elsewhere in the book, Isaiah 8:23–9:6, Isaiah 10–11, and Psalm 2.

The four kingdoms of 39:3–7 repeat the four kingdom schema from Daniel 2 and 7 for which 4 *Ezra* 12:11 cites Daniel. Like Daniel 7, the interpretation in 2 *Baruch* 39–40 emphasizes the harshness of the fourth kingdom and the particular judgment of its last ruler. The use of the four kingdoms schema from Daniel 2 and 7, or at least the use of the same schema in both books, is generally recognized.¹³⁷ The Vision of the Cloud contains closer

¹³⁷ E.g., Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 2:73; Gurtner, *Second Baruch*, 23; Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption*, 171; Benjamin E. Reynolds, “The Otherworldly Mediators in 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*: A Comparison with Angelic Mediators in Ascent Apocalypses and in Daniel, Ezekiel, and

lexical parallels to Daniel 7, making specific allusion to this text clear. These include a great sea (יָם וְזֶה in 53:1; יָמָא רַבָּא in Dan 7:2) from which visionary symbols overthrown at the end come up (שְׁלֵמָה in 53:1; סִלְקָן in Dan 7:3) and the symbol for the divinely authorized and final ruler appearing with a cloud or clouds (חֶסֶד in 53:8; עֲנִי שְׁמִיָּא in Dan 7:13).¹³⁸ As Henze notes, tradition interpreted the כְּבֹד אֱנוֹשׁ of Daniel 7 as a messiah, and the vision in 2 *Baruch* explicitly identifies the lightning on the cloud in this way.¹³⁹ Various other elements of the book outside of passages mentioning the messiah also correspond to Daniel.¹⁴⁰

Isaiah 10–11 informs the same two visions. Bauckham observes correspondences between Isaiah 10:33–34 and 2 *Baruch* 36–40, including the bringing down of the forest’s height, the burning in 2 *Baruch* 37:7 and that of the סִבְכֵי הַיַּעַר in Isaiah 10:34 when combined with Isaiah 9:17, the opposition to Lebanon in Isaiah and to the cedar (a tree often associated with Lebanon) in Baruch’s vision, and the sequence of felling trees followed by judging and sentencing by the vine/messiah in the vision and by the branch in Isaiah 10:34–11:4.¹⁴¹ While the lack of distinctive verbal parallels might bring into question the links between the two passages in isolation, the multiplicity of correspondence supports the use of this portion of Isaiah in constructing the vision.¹⁴² Henze associates 29:4–8 with Isaiah 25:6–10; 27:1; and

Zechariah,” in Henze, Boccaccini, and Zurawski, “*Fourth Ezra*” and “*Second Baruch*,” 185; Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed?*, 24n15.

¹³⁸ Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 270.

¹³⁹ Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 270; also see Collins, *Daniel*, 306–308.

¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., Reynolds, “The Otherworldly Mediators in 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*,” 184–86.

¹⁴¹ Richard Bauckham, “The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10:34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 *Baruch* and the Preaching of John the Baptist,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 208.

¹⁴² See William A. Tooman, *Gog of Magog: Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39*, FAT, 2nd ser., 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 28–29.

51:9–11, although without clearly indicating whether he believes 2 *Baruch* directly refers to these texts.¹⁴³

The description of the blessings of the messiah's kingdom in the interpretation of the Apocalypse of the Cloud appears to come from Isaiah 11:6–9.¹⁴⁴ One of the closest links is from 73:6 to Isaiah 11:6, 8. The picture in the passage, however, corresponds with descriptions of future blessing throughout Isaiah. In places, distinctive descriptions or lexical parallels indicate direct use whereas in others conceptual similarities still at least suggest ideas the earlier prophecies shaped. These include parallels between 73:1 and Isaiah 9:6; 73:3 and Isaiah 65:20; 73:6 and Isaiah 11:6, 8; and 74:1 and Isaiah 65:23. The first and second of these are the most significant for analyzing the messiah in 2 *Baruch* since they associate him with the figure in these two passages of Isaiah and since they display the most similar language. The first requires further comment.

Thematic parallels extend through Isaiah 8:23–9:6: a future king establishing an ideal kingdom where his people will have joy after he has subjected the enemies of Israel. In addition, all the elements in *וְיָשֵׁב בְּעִלְיָהּ לְעֹלָם* (“and he sits in peace forever on the throne of his kingdom”) in 73:1 correspond to *עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד וְעַל־מַמְלַכְתּוֹ, וּלְשָׁלוֹם אֵין־קֶץ*, and *עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד וְעַל־מַמְלַכְתּוֹ* in Isaiah 9:6. *שָׁלוֹם* and *כִּסֵּא* occur together in only three verses in the Old Testament: 1 Kings 2:33, Isaiah 9:6, and Zechariah 6:13, and of these only Isaiah 9:6 also includes a word for “kingdom” (*מַמְלָכָה* in this case). Of the 137 occurrences of *כִּסֵּא* in the Old Testament, only the one in Isaiah 9:6 emphasizes peace in the rule of a future Davidide

¹⁴³ Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 295, 295n151, 295n152.

¹⁴⁴ As noted by, e.g., Charlesworth, “From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology,” 247; Andrew Chester, “The Parting of the Ways: Eschatology and Messianic Hope,” in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70–135*, edited by James D.G. Dunn, WUNT 66 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1992), 250–51; Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 283n89; and Lied, *Other Lands of Israel*, 272n129.

after the subjection of the nations to him. Similarly, the description of peace among animals and their subjection to humans uniquely corresponds to Isaiah 11:6–9, which is the only passage in the Old Testament mentioning snakes harmless to children by their holes.

Psalms 2 may also inform the picture of the figure, but whether 2 *Baruch* uses Psalm 2 directly or secondarily is more difficult to establish. The interpretations of the Vision of the Vine and the Cedar and the Apocalypse of the Cloud together contain some of the parallels to Psalm 2 appearing in 4 *Ezra*: he judges from Mount Zion (40:1), is God’s messiah (40:1; 72:2), and destroys or spares enemy nations (72:2–6).¹⁴⁵ The discussion of Mount Zion in 4 *Ezra* 13 above suggests that this element derives originally from Psalm 2 in light of the other parallels. In the absence of other clear parallel expressions, however, a derivation from Psalm 2, perhaps through the ideas of the psalms shaping a set of ideas about a future messiah from which 2 *Baruch* draws, but not a direct allusion seems most likely.

Henze’s views *עבד* (“my servant”) in 70:9 as from the servant song in Isaiah 52:13–53:12.¹⁴⁶ This would need further support, however, since language of God’s servant does not appear in only this scriptural passage and since the interpretation of the Vision of the Vine and the Cedar does not contain any other elements clearly taken from this passage of Isaiah. More likely it draws from the designation of royal figures as servants of God.

2.4 Conclusions

The Similitudes of Enoch, 4 *Ezra*, and 2 *Baruch* view judgment as an essential part of their eschatological expectation, and each presents a figure called the messiah as an eschatological judge. These texts differ, however, in how the messiah will judge. In 4 *Ezra*

¹⁴⁵ The close parallels between 4 *Ezra* 11:37–12:3 and 2 *Bar.* 36:7–37:1 and 4 *Ezra* 12:31–35 and 2 *Bar.* 39:7–40:4 strongly suggest a literary relationship between the two visions. Since some of the parallels to Ps 2 appear in this section of 2 *Baruch*, its derivation of ideas from Ps 2 may, if the Vision of the Vine and the Cedar used the Eagle Vision, have secondarily resulted from such use.

¹⁴⁶ Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, 302n179.

and *2 Baruch*, the messiah appears, seemingly from a state of hiddenness in which he has long existed, to destroy the wicked nations, particularly the final great kingdom and its ruler. He will judge this ruler from Mount Zion and will bring in the kingdom of blessing for the righteous. His judgment, although universal, occurs at a future point in time distinct from that of the final judgment and extends to those living at that time. His absence, either through death or his “return in glory,” at the end of this kingdom leads into the general resurrection and God’s judgment of all people, including those raised from the dead (in *4 Ezra* all have died). In the Similitudes of Enoch, the judgment of the figure and the judgment of God cannot clearly be distinguished; the judgment of the son of man figure is the judgment of God, and God’s judgment occurs through the son of man figure. The son of man figure’s judgment extends beyond humans to angels and to the secret thoughts of both humans and angels. He does not, however, clearly judge those raised from the dead, as only God does in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.

Each appears to present the messiah as human in nature, but each also speaks of him in ways unusual for a human figure. Each seems to present him as existing prior to his eschatological activity, although this preexistence is less clear in *2 Baruch* than in the other texts. In *2 Baruch*, he defeats his enemies without a sword and thus seemingly by supernatural means. In *4 Ezra*, some details of how the visions speak of him mirror descriptions of God’s activities in scriptural texts. The Similitudes of Enoch go beyond either *2 Baruch* or *4 Ezra*, however, in that the son of man figure receives praise and worship, clearly has a higher status than any of the angels, and is presented with descriptions drawn from multiple scriptural texts describing theophanies. This is also the only one of these texts to decorate him with the epithets “Righteous One” and “Chosen One,” and the only one of the three to use the Isaianic servant significantly to construct its figure.

These three texts commonly use a set of scriptural texts to construct the messiah, specifically Isaiah 11 (sometimes with part of Isa 10), Psalm 2, and Daniel 7. Other parts of Isaiah and Daniel also tend to feature in describing the messiah and the future time associated with him. None of them names him, but each stresses his special role as God's messiah. In each he is a judge and seems to be a royal figure by whom the wicked are punished and the righteous receive peace, joy, and protection. He protects the righteous and vindicates them. Although these texts mention God as merciful, none of them speaks of the messiah as extending mercy or having authority to forgive.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Note Sjöberg's comments on the son of man figure in the Similitudes as a redeemer, but not one who redeems from sin or guilt in *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch*, 79.

CHAPTER 3: ESCHATOLOGICAL JUDGMENT FIGURES IN QUMRAN LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analyzed figures participating in eschatological judgment in the Similitudes of Enoch, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*. This chapter continues providing a context for Jesus' judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 by analyzing eschatological judgment figures in selected texts from Qumran literature: *1QRule of Benedictions* (1QSb/1Q28b), *4QIsaiah Pesher^a* (4Q161), *4QAramaic Apocalypse* (4Q246), *4QSefer ha-Milhamah* (4QSM/4Q285), *4QMessianic Apocalypse* (4Q521), and *11QMelchizedek* (11QMelch/11Q13). Most of these texts add little that demonstrably differs from the conception of judgment figures in the pseudepigraphal texts analyzed, but they provide further attestation of some of the same ideas in different circles. This chapter consists of a brief discussion of each of the first five texts with a more detailed consideration of the activity and nature of Melchizedek in 11QMelch, followed by a summary and synthesis.

3.2 Method for Analysis

The approach of this chapter follows that of the previous one, and a corresponding set of methodological difficulties and cautions apply. The provenance of the Qumran literature presents fewer problems. These texts must antedate the end of Khirbet Qumran's occupation during the First Jewish Revolt, and texts with strong sectarian features most likely postdate the establishment of the community.¹ The presence of texts in the caves around Qumran

¹ Some texts with sectarian features, or some texts that may reflect a move toward sectarianism, may, however, predate the community's establishment. On some of the difficulties in the classification of literature as sectarian, see, e.g., Florentino García Martínez, "¿Sectario, no-sectario, o qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos," *RevQ* 23 (2008): 383–94 and, earlier, Carol A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, ed. William Henry Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman, BJSUCSD 1 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87. Although I use the term "sectarian literature," I do so loosely, recognizing that some texts from the caves of Qumran include rules or speak of persons, such as the Teacher of Righteousness, in a manner suggesting that a sect formed while also recognizing that a clear definition of sectarian literature, non-sectarian literature, and boundaries of a sect are not possible. Gwynned de Looijer, *The Qumran Paradigm: A Critical Evaluation of Some Foundational Hypotheses in the Construction of the Qumran Sect*, SBLEJL 43 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015) challenges placement of various texts along a progression of sectarian development and proposes that texts be

suggest their use by the Qumran community, although the degree to which the thought of various texts cohere is not possible to determine. Although the Qumran community may have consisted of adherents to a form or derivative of Essenism, much about the community remains uncertain.² For this study, establishing whether particular texts are sectarian is not finally necessary, but similar ideas or similar use of texts in constructing eschatological judgment across apparently sectarian and non-sectarian texts demonstrates concord in this area between distinct groups.

Textually, the available manuscripts are little removed from their date of composition.³ Their fragmentary nature, however, hampers interpretation. Most of the documents discussed below each remain in only one manuscript. Since the manuscripts available are from the Second Temple period, however, the forms of texts they preserve provide samples of forms used during the relevant time period. I use the texts and reconstructions offered by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar and in Discoveries in the Judean Desert as a base while noting relevant alternative reconstructions.⁴

considered on their own terms, recognizing that some may come from wider elements within Second Temple Judaism than a defined “sect.” I attempt to evaluate texts individually while allowing for the possibility that those with similarities may suggest direction for interpreting each other.

² In support of Essene identification, see, e.g., James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994), 71–97, which presents the traditional support for this position with responses to objections and alternatives, and Todd S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SNTSMS 58 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), which offers a detailed comparison between the contents of some of the Qumran literature and Josephus’ descriptions of the Essenes. Lena Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence*, TSAJ 60 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997), 19–80 attempts to challenge the association of the Qumran literature with the Essenes through discrepancies between some of this literature and the descriptions in Josephus, Philo, and Pliny as well as archaeological material. Until more material becomes available, a precise identification of the community that lived at Qumran and used the scrolls is not possible, although that this community represents a species of Essenes is likely.

³ John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2010), 12 argues that few are autographs, however, because of the presence of copyist errors.

⁴ Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998). Sections of DJD are noted as relevant below.

The analysis establishes that the Qumran literature emphasizes the role of human figures designated “messiah” as judges through use of scriptural texts, particularly Isaiah 11, and the judgment of the figures in these texts does not clearly extend beyond that of the figures in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* with the exception of Melchizedek in 11QMelch.

Melchizedek appears unique due to his priestly portrayal, the set of scriptural texts used to speak of him, and how he opposes Belial. All the figures, however, exercise their judgment at a particular future time over those living at the time of their appearance. None clearly exercises judgment over angelic beings, none clearly forgives, and none clearly exercises judgment over those who have died. Although they function as judges for God, their judgment does not comprehensively encompass his judgment.

3.3 Analysis

3.3.1 *1QRule of Benedictions* (1QSb/1Q28b)

The final blessing in 1QSb presents the נשיא העדה as a royal judgment figure in v 20–29. This passage applies rephrased material from Isaiah 11:2–5 to the figure and may suggest his davidic identity through גבור[תו וברית ד'] in v 21.⁵ The figure’s judgment extends over other nations that he vanquishes in righteousness and includes his vindication of the ע[נו] and those who seek the covenant. Although the activity of the figure extends to the nations, the text does not indicate the geographical scope of his judgment more precisely.

⁵ Following Hartmut Stegemann, “Some Remarks to *1QSa*, to *1QSb*, and to Qumran Messianism,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 499 with Géza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, *STDJ* 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 31. Xeravits comments that the length of דויד appears to fit better than היחד (31n79). D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, with the collaboration of R. de Vaux, G.M. Crowfoot, H.J. Plenderleith, and G.L. Harding, *Qumran Cave I*, *DJD* 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 127 and García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 106 offer the latter reconstruction. Xeravits’ argument from length does not seem conclusive when comparing the width of יחד in v 6. Xeravits suggests that ברית דויד comes from Ps 89:4 (32).

[ב]צר לדורשי[ו] in v 23 indicates the figure's appearance during a time of trouble. Notably, ברית קדוש is a phrase unique in scriptural texts to Daniel 11, where a form of it occurs three times in 11:28, 30. In that passage, the king of the south opposes the covenant. No further indications of the time of the figure's appearance or the duration of his activity occur in 1QSb v 20–29.

A triangle of scriptural texts in addition to Isaiah 11:2–5 appear to contribute to the construction of the figure: selections from Micah, Genesis 49:9–10, and Psalm 2. Column v 26 incorporates a description unique to Micah 4:13, and Micah 7:10 provides the image of trampling enemies in v 27.⁶ The *editio princeps* views the mention of the figure's שבט in v 27–28 as from Numbers 24:17, noting CD vii 20 and the quotation from Numbers 24:15–17 in 4QTestimonia (4Q175 9–13).⁷ More likely, שבט comes from Genesis 49:9–10,⁸ which similarly speaks of a scepter for a figure from Judah and compares him to a lion with its prey. Johannes Zimmermann plausibly views lines 24–25 as combining ideas from Isaiah 11:4 and Psalm 2:9, since the image of the שבט more closely matches that in the latter text.⁹ The שבט

⁶ The two verses are noted, e.g., in Barthélemy et al., *Qumran Cave I*, 129 and George J. Brooke, “1Q28b. 1QSerekh ha-Yahad b (fragment),” appendix to *Qumran Cave 4 XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, by Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, DJD 26 (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1998), 232, although the latter views the phrases in 1QSb as allusions while the former merely refers to them, listing Ps 18:43 and Zech 10:5 along with Mic 7:10 for v 27. Although the image of trampling an enemy or enemies as mud in the streets (כטיט חוצות) in v 27 occurs, using טיט, in 2 Sam 22:43 with Ps 18:43; Isa 41:25; Mic 7:10; and Zech 10:5, if the reconstruction of the verb of לשבט אל הקימכה for v 27 is correct, Mic 7:10 provides the closest parallel. Elsewhere in Qumran literature, note 4Q509 i 3. The possible use of Mic 7:14, noted below, may strengthen the likelihood of the use of Micah. Although iron horns also occur in 1 Kgs 22:1 (par. 2 Chr 18:10), bronze hooves do not appear anywhere in the Old Testament outside of Mic 4:13.

⁷ Barthélemy et al., *Qumran Cave I*, 129.

⁸ As Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 58 also suggests. Notably, 4Q252 v 3–4 interprets Gen 49:10 to refer to משיח הצדק צמח דוד.

⁹ Ibid., 57.

of the figure's mouth in Isaiah 11:4 becomes a means to link the ruling שבט that subjects nations and rules over his people in Genesis 49:10 and Psalm 2:9. The similarity of Psalm 2:9 to Micah 7:10 further suggests the shepherding rule with a שבט in Micah 7:14.¹⁰

Zimmermann notes the similar imagery linking והדקות עמים רבים in Micah 4:13 and ככלי יוצר in Psalm 2:9.¹¹ These verses both link to the same passage in Isaiah, since Isaiah 10:34 shares with both of them an instrument of ברזל used in the destruction of the wicked.¹²

Finally, the lion from whom no one can recover prey in Genesis 49:9 and 1QSb v 29 also links to a verse from Micah. After Micah 5, in a manner similar to Isaiah 10–11, speaks of the birth of a ruler from Judah with universal greatness who will deliver from Assyria, the description of him as a lion tearing prey with no one to deliver in verse 7 neatly corresponds to 1QSb v 29. והייתה בא[ריה]... כה טרף ואין משי[ב].

The epithet נשיא העדה requires further comment. The phrase נשיא כל or נשיא העדה appears in five other texts. *IQWar Scroll* (1QM) v 1 instructs the writing of the name of the נשיא כול העדה on his shield along with the names of Israel, Levi, Aaron, the twelve tribes, and their twelve leaders.¹³ Nothing further clarifies his role, but his singular title and the

¹⁰ The similarity of רעה in Mic 7:14 and תרעם in Ps 2:9 may have further suggested this link. Notably, nowhere else in the Old Testament are the actions of רעע or רעה performed with a שבט as an instrument.

¹¹ Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 57. Note again שבט in near proximity, although with nearly opposite significance.

¹² On 10:34 as part of the same unit as Isa 11:2–5 in Jewish exegesis, in and around the Second Temple Period, see Richard Bauckham, “The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10:34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch and the Preaching of John the Baptist,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 202–216.

¹³ 1QM, following García Martínez and Tigchelaar's reconstruction, begins with [למשכיל...], like the למשכיל in 1QSb i 1 and suggesting further uniformity between the two texts.

names on his shield would suggest a central role among the people. The title הנשיא אשר לכול appears in *4QApocryphon of Moses*^{b?} (4Q376), but the text is too fragmentary to discern the figure's role.¹⁴ The *Damascus Document* (CD-A vii 20–21 = 4Q266 iii 21–22) explains the שבט of Numbers 24:13 as נשיא כל העדה, adding, ובעמדו וקרקר את כל בני שת. The other two texts, 4Q161 and 4QSM, are discussed below.

Without insisting that these texts all present a unified portrait, the figure in question appears to have been a recognized eschatological figure in the sectarian literature who was a military leader in fulfillment of some of the same texts used of those called “messiah” in the pseudepigraphal literature already considered. The epithet probably comes from Ezekiel 34:23–24 and 37:24–25.¹⁵ These texts, along with Ezekiel 44:3; 45–46; and 48:21–22, which comment on the same figure, are the only ones in the Old Testament that use נשיא for a positive future figure. His confrontation with Magog in 4Q161 iii 21 further supports derivation from Ezekiel. As discussed below, 4Q161 contains the epithet צמח דויד for its figure. This epithet also appears in 4QpGen^a 5:1–4, which identifies the צמח דויד as the ruler of Genesis 49:10, a text already seen in 1QSb, and as משיח הצדק. *4QFlorilegium* 1:10–13, which interprets 2 Samuel 7:11–14 and Amos 9:11, refers to the צמח דויד accompanied by the דורש התורה. If these texts reflect the same conceptual framework in their speculation about a

¹⁴ Zimmermann considers 4Q376 1 iii 1 a likely instance of the concept of the same figure denoted by this epithet in a text prior to Qumran; *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 50.

¹⁵ As suggested, e.g., in Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “Messianic Hope and 4Q285: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 113 (1994): 85–86; Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 32; and Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 49–51. For discussion of the development in the use of נשיא from the Old Testament into the Qumran and contemporary literature, see Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 150–54. Xeravits observes that it became a royal designation and later uses of it draw ideas from Ezekiel 34:23–24; 37:24–25, combining them with ideas of a warrior figure.

future figure, they appeal to a broad selection of scriptural texts about royal figures and attest to the importance of this figure in the circles from which they originate. If these texts have a lower degree of uniformity, however, that lower uniformity itself would suggest the greater distribution of similar ideas.

One of the questions related to the relationship of these texts is whether the figure in 1QSb is davidic. The *editio princeps* presents the נשיא העדה as a royal davidic messiah alongside a priestly messiah blessed in iii 1–21.¹⁶ Taking these texts together supports his davidic ancestry. Kenneth E. Pomykala does not think 1QSb refers to a davidic ruler, proposing instead that the text displays influence from the davidic dynasty tradition. His argument notes the absence of Isaiah 11:1 in 1QSb, the absence of any explicit connection of the figure to David, and the possible use of imagery elsewhere used of davidic figures for non-davidic figures.¹⁷ This seems overly cautious and seems to over-interpret the absence of Isaiah 11:1. In view of the use of the immediately following verses in 11:2–5, the use of the same epithet for a davidic figure in other texts, and the possible mention of a covenant of David in 1QSb v 21, the figure most likely is davidic.

In conclusion, the נשיא העדה in this text is a future figure who rules and judges the wicked living at the time of his activity at an international, although not clearly universal, scale. Nothing suggests anything other than an ordinary human, as his davidic lineage would seem to confirm. 1QSb uses Genesis 49:9–10, Isaiah 11:2–5, Psalm 2, and parts of Micah, particularly chapters 4 and 7, to construct this figure.

¹⁶ Barthélemy et al., *Qumran Cave I*, 121–22, 128–29. Brooke presents the additional fragment from this column, Schøyen MS 1909, in DJD in “1Q28b. 1QSerekh ha-Yahad b (fragment),” 227–32.

¹⁷ Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, SBLEJL 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 240–43.

3.3.2 4QIsaiah Pesher^a (4Q161)

The extant portions of 4Q161 offer a sequential commentary on Isaiah 10:20–11:5.

The designation נשיא העדה appears in ii 15 in the interpretation of Isaiah 10:24–27. The interpretation of Isaiah 11:1–5 that follows in iii 11–25 explains the passage as about a davidic figure who rules and judges nations. This activity of the figure appears most clearly through בידו ובכול הג[ואי]ם ימשול ומגוג [...] in iii 21–22, indicating the universal scope of his activity. García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct iii 18–19 as [פשר הדבר על צמח] דויד העומד באח[רית הימים אשר ברוח שפתיו ימית או]יבו ואל יסומכנו ב[רוח נשיא [...] What remains of the text does not clearly identify this figure with the נשיא [...] בורה]¹⁸ [...] although the use of Isaiah 11 and comparison with 1QSb make this identification likely. While the principal text used to construct this figure is Isaiah 11:1–5, mention of מגוג suggests use of Ezekiel 38–39.

The description in iii 18–25 uses royal imagery, particularly [כ]סא כבוד נזר ק[דוש] [...] in iii 20 and [ובגדי ריקמו]ת[in iii 21. J.M. Allegro views iii 18–25 as “what seems to be a most interesting and detailed coronation ceremony based on Psalm 45,”¹⁹ but unique correspondence to the psalm is difficult to establish. Maurya P. Horgan reconstructs and translates “and the poor ones of [Judah will judge] all the nations” in iii 7–8, thus adding another reference to judgment, in this case by the righteous poor of Judah, and

¹⁸ Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 63 offers the same reconstruction but with הפתגם instead of הדבר, as suggested by Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 85.

¹⁹ J.M. Allegro, “Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature,” *JBL* 75 (1956): 182.

cites *וביד בחירו יתן אל משפט כול הגוים* in 1QpHab v 4.²⁰ She herself notes, however, that her suggestion “may be a little short for the space.”²¹

In summary, this text offers a picture of an eschatological judge consistent with those in other texts considered. A davidic figure rules and judges universally in fulfillment of Isaiah 11. He will be victorious in the eschatological battle of Ezekiel 38–39.

3.3.3 4QAramaic Apocalypse (4Q246)

4Q246 borrows heavily from Daniel in narrating a future scenario.²² It contains no distinctively sectarian material. Discussion of 4Q246 largely centers on the question of whether ii 1 speaks of a negative ruling figure designated *ברה די אל* and *בר עליין*, either historic or future, or a positive future figure.²³ The use of language from Daniel associated with a righteous figure weighs in favour of a positive eschatological figure,²⁴ as do

²⁰ Horgan, *Pesharim*, 75, 84. Horgan only provides the translation from her own transcription based on the published photographs, as she explains on 4, so she does not provide a Hebrew text.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

²² See Émile Puech, “Apocryphe de Daniel,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, by George Brooke et al., DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–66 for dating and a physical description.

²³ See Annette Steudel, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God—Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 510–11 and Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 173–85 for listings of proposals with references. Negative proposals include those of David Flusser, “The Hubris of the Antichrist,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 207–213 (Flusser argues for an “antichrist” figure on the basis of divine claims and requirements for worship of negative eschatological figures in the New Testament, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Oracles of Hystaspes); Steudel, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God,” 509–19, who identifies the figure as Antiochus IV; and Edward M. Cook, “4Q246,” *BBR* 5 (1995): 43–66, who views the figure as historical, possibly a Ptolemy. See John J. Collins, “The Background of the ‘Son of God’ Text,” *BBR* 7 (1997): 51–62 for a critique of Cook’s proposal and argument in favor of the text’s parallels to Daniel 7 and for the figure as messianic.

²⁴ See, e.g., Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 86–87 and Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 176–80. The seemingly contrasting parallels that Steudel presents in “The Eternal Reign of the People of God,” 515 do not present problems for a positive interpretation. Descriptions of violence preceding or resulting from judgment and descriptions of peace often appear together in eschatological texts.

correspondences with 1QM.²⁵ Frank Moore Cross points out that the names אל and עליין also support a positive eschatological figure, specifically a royal messianic figure in his view, since these ordinarily Hebrew names for Israel's God would not accompany an evil figure in an Aramaic text.²⁶ Craig A. Evans suggests that a messianic interpretation of the בן בכור in 4Q369 frag. 1 ii 6 strengthens, although inconclusively, the case that the epithets in 4Q246 designate a messianic figure.²⁷

Lines 1–4 of the same column narrate a destructive reign that ends when a time of peace emerges with the rising of the עם אל.²⁸ After a *vacat*, the text continues, מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל ארחתה בקשוט ידי[ן] ארעא בקשט וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסף וכל מדינתה לה יסגדון (ii אל רבא באילה הוא יעבד לה קרב עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי 5–9). The lines most explicitly about judgment, ii 5–6, are positively oriented, either speaking of God or God and another righteous party, and אל רבא באילה and עממין ינתן בידה in ii 7 and 8 make clear the presence of a righteous party besides God at this point in the text. If the figure in ii 1 were negative, that would only mean that the text provides less detail about this positive figure than would otherwise be the case. If, as I consider more likely, the figure is positive, this text does not say anything about this figure not seen in other texts.

²⁵ Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 178–79 notes mention of Assyria and Egypt, use of Daniel, and the term נחשירן or נחשיר.

²⁶ Frank Moore Cross, “Notes on the Doctrine of the Two Messiahs at Qumran and the Extracanonical *Daniel Apocalypse* (4Q246),” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, *STDJ* 20 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 12. See throughout the article for discussion of the figure as messianic and proposed textual reconstructions.

²⁷ Craig A. Evans, “A Note on the ‘First-Born Son’ of 4Q369,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 200.

²⁸ On עם אל as subject of יקום and יניח, see Puech, “Apocryphe de Daniel,” 174. See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 177 on description of a positive eschatological figure prior to narration of the people of God rising.

Truth characterizes the judgment in ii 5–6, which results in peace. This judgment is associated with a universal, eternal kingdom under God to which all peoples will be subjected. The question of the antecedent of the pronouns in the second half of ii 7 through the end remains open. Grammatically, they may refer to the **עַם אֱל**. If ii 1 speaks of another positive figure, however, they may naturally look back to this figure.

If 4Q246 speaks of an individual figure who rules and judges, these functions match, though with less detail, figures whom other texts designate as “messiah.”²⁹ The text does not, however, contain any messianic epithet nor indicate davidic lineage. John J. Collins rightly observes that “the text makes excellent sense if it is applied to the Davidic messiah. There is clear basis in the Hebrew Bible in 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 for referring to the messiah as Son of God, and 2 Samuel 7 is so interpreted in the *Florilegium*.”³⁰ Nevertheless, nothing can positively be demonstrated either.

Collins and, cautiously, Michael A. Knibb use the unusual nature of judgment by a people in favour of interpreting the antecedent of the pronouns in ii 5 as designating an individual rather than the **עַם אֱל**. Collins writes that “the people is an unlikely antecedent for the statement ‘he will judge the earth with truth.’ In the Hebrew Bible, it is the Lord himself who is judge of the earth (Gen 18:25; 1 Sam 2:10; Pss 7:9; 9:9[8], etc.). Judgment is a royal function, and the Davidic king transmits the divine justice to the people of Israel (Ps 72:1–2).”³¹ Knibb, in response to citation of instances of judgment by a people by Émile Puech and

²⁹ As in the view of Florentino García Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften,” *JBT* 8 (1993): 191–93.

³⁰ John J. Collins, “‘He Shall not Judge by What His Eyes See’: Messianic Authority in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 155.

³¹ Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 177–78.

Annette Steudel,³² notes that “none of these seems to provide an exact parallel,” stating that they do not “refer to judgment of the earth being given to the people of God as a whole.”³³ This needs to be noted, but to use these observations to argue for judgment by an individual would be to assume a conclusion without allowing for a possible exception to what appears in other texts.

The scriptural texts that 4Q246 clearly uses or that influence it come from the Aramaic portion of Daniel. The exact phrase שלטנה שלטן עלם in ii 9 occurs in Daniel 4:31, where Nebuchadnezzar attributes it to עליא,³⁴ and 7:14, where it speaks of the kingdom given to the אנש.³⁵ מלכותה מלכות עלם in ii 5 similarly comes from Daniel 3:33 and 7:27. The rising of the people of God, judgment, and the subjugation of all peoples leading into an eternal kingdom also mirror Daniel 7.

In summary, this text speaks of a universal judgment of nations that will bring peace at the time when the kingdom for the people of God begins in the eschaton, and the text shows clear influence from the Aramaic portions of Daniel. Little else is clear. It appears to speak of an individual agent with titles expressing a filial relationship to God. Although it possibly speaks of the people of God judging, that it does is not clear and would be exceptional. The text says nothing of a judgment of anyone aside from humans living at the time the kingdom is established.

³² Steudel, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God,” 517 and Émile Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit de 11QMelkisédeq,” *RevQ* 12 (1987): 553.

³³ Michael A. Knibb, “Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 343. Knibb remains inconclusive, establishing in 343–44 that the text may refer to a historical figure, to the people of God, or to a messianic figure, although the last of these “makes more sense of the text.” See also Michael A. Knibb, “Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 174–77.

³⁴ *qere* ‘עלאה.

³⁵ It may also recall Dan 3:33; 6:27; and 7:27.

3.3.4 4QSefer ha-Milhamah (4QSM/4Q285)

The fragmentary nature of 4Q285 limits what may be known of the eschatological judgment figure it describes.³⁶ The document's picture of future events is similar to what has been observed in other texts. It designates a figure as נשיא העדה (frag. 6 + 4 2, 6, 10; frag. 5 4) and צמח דויד (frag. 5 3, 4), the latter of which probably comes from Jeremiah 23:5 or 33:15. The figure, as a Davidide, is human, and nothing in the text suggests his nature is other than human. After apparently narrating the defeat of the Kittim by the נשיא העדה and Israel, frag. 6 10 relates [... ו] יביאוהו לפני נשיא [העדה] [...]. No antecedent of the singular pronominal suffix remains in the fragments, but, given its place after a future battle, the line could describe the bringing of the leader of the enemies of God's people (the Kittim) before the נשיא העדה for judgment. This would correspond to the scenario in 2 *Baruch* 40:1–2 in which the leader of the final evil kingdom is brought before the messiah for judgment and, although less precisely, to the messiah's judgment of the nations in 4 *Ezra* 12:32–33; 13:35–38; and 2 *Baruch* 72:2.³⁷ Frag. 5 1–2 continues with a citation of Isaiah 10:34–11:1, which it applies to the נשיא העדה, identifying him as צמח דויד. Line 4 states [... ח דויד ...]. A

³⁶ I understand 4Q285 to describe an eschatological situation, as, e.g., Bilhah Nitzan, "Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (11QBer; 4Q285)," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 77–90, and Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 76. I am following the ordering of the fragments in García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 640–43. I do not assume a view of the relationship between 4Q285 and 11Q14 but only discuss 4Q285 since the relevant portions of the composition(s) is/are better preserved in this manuscript than in 11Q14 and the latter does not add anything related to judgment not also found in 4Q285. For discussions of the relationship between 4Q285 and 11QBer, see, e.g., Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "Working with Few Data: The Relation between 4Q285 and 11Q14," *DSD* 7 (2000): 49–56, and William John Lyons, "Possessing the Land: The Qumran Sect and the Eschatological Victory," *DSD* 3 (1996): 134–40.

³⁷ Others viewing 4QSM as presenting a scenario corresponding to 2 *Bar.* 40 include Abegg, "Messianic Hope and 4Q285," 89; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The One Who Is to Come* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), 104; Lyons, "Possessing the Land," 140–41; W. Horbury in participation at the Oxford Forum for Qumran Research as reported by Geza Vermes (in addition to Vermes himself) in "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)," *JJS* 43 (1992): 89–90; and Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 86.

general consensus now accepts the נשיא העדה as the subject of והמיתו,³⁸ possibly providing the conclusion to his judgment of the one brought to him in frag. 6 + 4 10.

The only word for “judgment” in the text is ונשפטו in frag. 5, 3. It probably involves battle because of the surrounding context, but the gaps following it do not allow determining anything more specific.³⁹ The text contains no indication of judgment activity aside from defeat of the Kittim living at that time. Again, the eschatological battle from Ezekiel 38–39 provides material for the portrayal of the final conflict. Zimmermann lists seven parallels between 4Q285 frags. 2 + 7 2–8 and Ezekiel 39.⁴⁰ Bilhah Nitzan plausibly views על הרי in frags. 6 + 4 3–5 as part of a quotation of Ezekiel 39:4,⁴¹ although this part of the text is too fragmentary to allow a definite determination.

In summary, 4Q285 again uses Isaiah 10:34–11:1 to speak of a future davidic figure who will judge the enemies of God’s people at the time of his appearance. He will defeat the Kittim and judge their leader. Jeremiah 23:5 or 33:15 may provide another designation for the figure, and Ezekiel 39 contributes to constructing the eschatological conflict in which he engages. This text says nothing about judgment of anyone aside from humans at the time of the figure’s appearance.

³⁸ See e.g., Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “The Messiah at Qumran: Are We Still Seeing Double?,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 139; Markus Bockmuehl, “A ‘Slain Messiah’ in 4Q Serekh Milhamah (4Q285)?,” *TynBul* 43 (1992): 165–66; García Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften,” 171–208; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism*, 207–209; and especially the arguments in Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 86–87.

³⁹ Bockmuehl, “A ‘Slain Messiah’ in 4Q Serekh Milhamah (4Q285)?,” 165 suggests the subject of the verb is “the whole army of the sons of Light who, under the leadership of the Branch of David (and of Michael) enter into judgment with the enemy.”

⁴⁰ Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*, 79.

⁴¹ Nitzan, “Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (*11QBer*; 4Q285),” 88.

3.3.5 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521)

4Q521 appears to mention a messianic figure by למשיחו in 2 ii 1 in its description of eschatological blessings, largely drawn from Isaiah, associated with him. The figure holds universal authority over heaven and earth (2 ii 1), but what remains of the text says nothing clearly about this figure participating in judgment.⁴² The description includes the dead coming to life (2 ii 12), and none of its elements contradict the picture of the eschaton found in the other texts considered.⁴³ Stephen Hultgren observes several parallels with *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and the second benediction of the *Tefilla*, both of which display belief in resurrection, and suggests that 4Q521 may originate from circles similar to those that composed the former and that later led to the use of the latter.⁴⁴ This increases the likelihood that 4Q521 speaks of resurrection in a literal sense and that its similarities to sectarian texts reflect widespread ideas.

⁴² Florentino García Martínez's translation in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, 2nd ed., trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 394 interprets the *yod* at the end of the remaining portion of 2 ii 9 to be part of a word for judgment. Since nothing beyond the *yod* remains, however, it could begin any of a number of verbs. See Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4 XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)*, DJD 25 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), plate 2. Puech mentions יושיע, יפקוד, ימלט, ישפוט, and ישלם as possibilities, 14–15.

⁴³ Hans Kvalbein views the resurrection as metaphorical due to its appearance with other actions that are, although still extraordinary, of lesser significance; his reading of the two lists of events in 2 ii 5–8 and 2 ii 12–13 as speaking of the same people in parallel; and the metaphorical interpretation of such imagery in other texts due to its appearance in contexts about national salvation. See Hans Kvalbein, “The Wonders of the End-Time Metaphoric Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11.5 par,” *JSP* 18 (1998): 87–110, esp. 92 for the first two points on the resurrection. Matt 11:5–6 applies these eschatological expectations in a literal sense for physical healing and resurrection along with expectation of restoration of the people. A literal interpretation may also lie behind some of the other texts that Kvalbein mentions without this becoming clear in the manner it does in Matthew since only in Matthew has the end time been inaugurated, evidencing itself in Jesus' actions. Benjamin Wold discusses the messiah in 4Q521 as agent of resurrection, including response to Kvalbein and interpreting resurrection literally. See “Agency and Raising the Dead in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel and 4Q521 2 ii,” *ZNW* 103 (2012): 1–19, note esp. 5–6, 10–13. Others viewing the resurrection as literal include Cross, “Notes on the Doctrine of the Two Messiahs at Qumran and the Extracanonical *Daniel Apocalypse* (4Q246),” 4; Stephen Hultgren, “4Q521, the Second Benediction of the *Tefilla*, the *Hāsīdīm*, and the Development of Royal Messianism,” *RevQ* 23 (2008): 313–40, esp. his dismissal of Kvalbein in 339n91; and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 81.

⁴⁴ Throughout Hultgren, “4Q521, the Second Benediction of the *Tefilla*, the *Hāsīdīm*, and the Development of Royal Messianism,” esp. 314–315, 330–36. This applies even without Hultgren's additional conclusions concerning messianism and 4Q521's origin from the חסידים.

The text uses Isaiah 35:5 and 61:1 together as it speaks of its figure, as these same verses apply to Jesus in Luke, and Luke 7:22 (par. Matt 11:5) and 4Q521 “both include resurrection of the dead as a key event of the messianic age—indeed, as an identifying tag of the Messiah himself.”⁴⁵ The fragmentary nature of the text does not allow final determination concerning whether God or, less likely, the messiah performs the events the text describes from these verses in Isaiah. Because of the text’s concentration on the activity of God, however, it more likely presents God as performing them. Although the messiah may not be the subject of the verbs, the text associates the events with the time when the messiah is present.⁴⁶

The text may speak of a judgment following the resurrection in 2 ii 4–14. This section emphasizes the Lord’s exclusive activity and the blessing for the righteous that results. He is the subject of all the verbs describing the benefits of the righteous, including יכבד with its dependent participles מתיר, פוקח, and זוקף in 2 ii 7–8 and יעשה, ירפא, יחיה, יבשר, ינהל, and יעשר in the string describing his נכבדות in 2 ii 11–13. The content of 7 + 5 ii 5–15 is difficult to discern because of the fragmentary nature of this section. These lines most likely present a judgment scene because, as common in judgment scenes, they depict the Lord’s universal authority (including over the cosmos) in 7 + 5 ii 1–3, they juxtapose העושים את הטוב לפני and [י]אדנ in 7 + 5 ii 4–5, and they contrast the outcomes of life and death in 7 + 5 ii

⁴⁵ See James D. Tabor and Michael O. Wise, “4Q521 ‘On Resurrection’ and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study,” *JSP* 10 (1992): 158–62, quote from 160–61. See 151–58 of the same article for discussion of each line, including scriptural use and possible reconstructions.

⁴⁶ As in García Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften,” 184–85. Robert H. Eisenman and Michael Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1992), 20 inconclusively notes both positions and states that “the editors were unable to agree on the reconstruction.”

5 and 7 + 5 ii 6.⁴⁷ The remaining text does not specify an agent of judgment, but these lines most likely speak of the results of God's judgment since אדני occurs in 7 + 5 ii 4, 7 and since God would be the most natural referent of את המחיה in 7 + 5 ii 6 because 2 ii 12 says ומתים יחיה of God. The figure for which the text is named does not appear aside from the passive mention of him in ii 1. Puech reconstructs the first three words of 2 iii 6 as ואת שבטן, viewing this as a reference to a royal sceptre.⁴⁸ As Collins notes, however, 2 iii 6 does not clearly speak of a שבט and, if it does, it may mean "tribe."⁴⁹

García Martínez, as well as James D. Tabor and Michael O. Wise, view ענוים יבשר in 2 ii 12 as coming from Isaiah 61:1.⁵⁰ In addition to Isaiah 35 and 61, the text draws from Malachi 3:24 in 2 iii 2, as noted, for example, by Collins and Puech.⁵¹ This reflects an effort to relate texts about an eschatological messenger.

4Q521 thus more clearly describes the extensive scope of its figure's authority as over heaven and earth, but it does not clearly speak of him as judging. In the remaining fragments, some common scriptural texts used to speak of eschatological judgment figures do not appear. The document uses Isaiah 35 and 61 as well as Malachi 3, however, texts about an eschatological messenger of good news rather than those about a royal figure. Part of the

⁴⁷ Although precisely how these lines are understood depends on reconstruction, the key contrasting words ולמות and המחיה are preserved in full.

⁴⁸ Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4 XVIII*, 18, 21.

⁴⁹ John J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994): 103.

⁵⁰ García Martínez, "Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften," 184; Tabor and Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition," 157.

⁵¹ Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 136; *idem*, "The Works of the Messiah," 102–103; Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4 XVIII*, 19.

document also stresses the uniqueness of God's role as judge rather than emphasizing a judicial role for the figure after which it is named.

3.3.6 *11QMelchizedek* (11QMelch/11Q13)

In the probably sectarian 11QMelch, Melchizedek may play a role in judgment beyond the figures in other Qumran texts, and many view him as a judging angel.⁵² Whether these perceptions are correct, and what the text indicates concerning his nature, however, are ultimately unclear, and, as I argue, the text offers alternative possibilities. Like the figures in other texts, he does not clearly judge at the resurrection nor actually forgive, although he does atone for sin in an apparently priestly function.

3.3.6.1 *Nature of Judgment*

The text interprets Leviticus 25:13 and Deuteronomy 15:2 as speaking of an eschatological jubilee, or more specifically a **יום הכפורים** that completes the tenth jubilee, when the righteous, identified as **כול בני [אור ו] אנש[י] גורל מל[כי] צדק** (ii 8), will receive atonement and liberation from their sins. Judgment will occur at this time. Drawing from Isaiah 61:2, the text states that **הואה הקץ לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק . . . לממשלת משפט** (ii 9). It provides scriptural support (ii 9–10) by quoting Psalm 82:1 and Psalm 7:8–9. These psalms speak of the judgment of **אלוהים** or **אל**, but 11QMelch quotes them when speaking about Melchizedek. Column ii 13 gives more specificity to this activity of Melchizedek: **ומלכי צדק יקום נקם משפטי א[ל] וביום החואה יצי[ל] מה מיד [בליעל ומיד כול ר] וחי: Melchizedek: ובעזרו כול אלי [הצדק וה]ואה א[שר ...] כול** [גורלו]. Angels accompany Melchizedek in this task:

⁵² On 11QMelch as sectarian, see, e.g., Florentino García Martínez, “Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán,” *Bib* 81 (2000): 71, who notes its form of exegesis.

[...] [במשפט] אל כאשר כתוב עליו [אומר לצי] ון מלך becomes more fragmentary, the words אל (ii 14). The peace anticipated in Isaiah 52:7 results. Further on, as the column becomes more fragmentary, the words אל (ii 23) appear, repeating the phrase משפטי אל from ii 13. The third column is too fragmentary to determine any description of judgment beyond the punishment of Belial in line 7: יתממ[ו] בליעל באש.

The description of judgment in 11QMelch is notable both for what it includes and what it does not mention. First, its negative force seems directed against evil angelic beings, specifically Belial and spirits subordinate to him (רוחי גורלו, ii 12; [רוחי גורלו], ii 13). The judgment of angelic beings has not appeared in other texts considered in this chapter or the preceding one aside from the Similitudes of Enoch. Second, the text emphasizes Melchizedek's role as administering God's judgments, possibly to the point of bringing into question whether Melchizedek himself actually functions as a judge. The judgment that Melchizedek administers is twice said to be משפטי אל. This may mean that he judges for God, but Melchizedek's activity may not extend beyond execution of the sentence of God's judgment.⁵³ Outside of the quotes from Psalms 7 and 82, Melchizedek does not directly occur as the subject of a verb for judgment, and whether the text actually presents these two psalms as speaking directly of Melchizedek requires comment.

The usual interpretation of 11QMelch ii 10–11 views the quotation of Psalm 7:8–9 and Psalm 82:1 as equating Melchizedek with אלוהים in the former and אל in the latter. This

⁵³ García Martínez notes, "Nuestro texto no sólo atribuye a Melquisedec la función judicial que en el texto bíblico era atribuida a Dios mismo, sino que le encomienda igualmente la ejecución de la sentencia: es él quien llevará a cabo la venganza divina (ii 13)," "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán," 74.

would seem to follow from [וְעַלִּי אִמְרָו] at the end of ii 10, which introduces the quotations. Immediately following the quotations and the application of Psalm 82:2 to Belial, however, lines 12–13 speak of the spirits of Belial's lot [לְהַרְשִׁיעַ] בְּסוֹרַת־רַמָּה and of Melchizedek [לְ... אֵל] יְקוֹם נֶקֶם מִשְׁפָּטִי אֵל, indicating a distinction between Melchizedek and אֵל as the former executes the judgment of the latter.⁵⁴ The change from יהוה in Psalm 7:8 to אֵל may result from hesitancy to use the Tetragrammaton in sectarian writings and follows the same change in the quotation from Deuteronomy 15:2 in ii 4.⁵⁵ Thus, the text may quote Psalms 7 and 82 to speak of God's judgment without indicating by these psalms the execution of that judgment through another agent, namely, Melchizedek. The suffixes on עַלִּי and וְעַלִּי in ii 10 may not even refer to Melchizedek. Paul Rainbow suggests that they may refer to קֵץ in ii 9 or another word in a lacuna.⁵⁶ More plausibly, Jean Carmignac argues that מִשְׁפָּט in ii 9 is the antecedent since כְּאִשֶּׁר כָּתוּב עַלִּי immediately follows מִשְׁפָּט in contrast to the space of six words between מִשְׁפָּט and כְּאִשֶּׁר, words for judgment link the two quotations with the preceding (מִשְׁפָּט in ii 9 before the quotations, יִשְׁפוּט in ii 10, and יִדִּין in ii 11), and these words for judgment provide a link with Psalm 82:2 as the next text the *peshet*

⁵⁴ Alan Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (1977; repr., Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2012), 194n33 cites Philo, *Leg.* 3.81 as possibly reflecting a view of Melchizedek like equation of him with אֱלֹהִים in 11QMelch since it “warns against imputing plurality to God, while discussing Melchizedek.” The warning against plurality in that text, however, accompanies the designation of God as אֵל עַלִּי to clarify that this epithet does not indicate the existence of other, lower deities.

⁵⁵ A.S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *OstSt* 14 (1965): 362 in the original publication of 11QMelch compared the same change in both quotations.

⁵⁶ Paul Rainbow, “Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran,” *BBR* 7 (1997): 182.

interprets.⁵⁷ In view of the above, Melchizedek may not actively serve as a judge at all. He may rather administer the outcomes that God's judgment determines, as do the angels in the other texts considered.⁵⁸ If he does judge, his judgment is not clearly the final judgment of God.

3.3.6.2 Activity Associated with Judgment

The other actions the text attributes to Melchizedek are associated with his involvement in the judgment process. Melchizedek frees and brings back the *השבויים* in the first week of the tenth Jubilee (ii 4–7). Column ii 6 explains that this is a freedom *[משא כול]* ל*כפר בו על כול בני* עונותיהמה. A Day of Atonement will occur at the end of this tenth Jubilee (ii 8), although nothing explicitly states that Melchizedek accomplishes this atonement. The use of *כפר*, if correctly reconstructed, suggests such a role, consistent with the priestly role of Melchizedek in Genesis 14, Psalm 110, Hebrews, and later literature mentioning Melchizedek.⁵⁹ Column ii 9 mentions *ממשלת משפט* that appears to be under Melchizedek.

Column ii 15–19 interprets Isaiah 52:7 by identifying its *מבשר* as the *משיח הרוח* [ח] from Daniel 9:25. The addition of *הרוח* [ח] to Daniel's *משיח* probably comes from Isaiah 61:1

⁵⁷ Jean Carmignac, "Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisédék," *RevQ* 27 (1970): 353.

⁵⁸ See similarly Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSup 11 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 261.

⁵⁹ See Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, CBQMS 10 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 64–71. Kobelski himself is cautious. For an early discussion of expectations in Qumran literature concerning an eschatological high priest, see Joachim Gnilka, "Die Erwartung des messianischen Hohenpriesters in den Schriften von Qumran und in Neuen Testament," *RevQ* 2 (1960): 395–426. Gnilka does not consider 11QM^{elch}, which had not yet been published.

since the text implicitly uses the beginning of Isaiah 61:1 throughout. This messenger appears at the time of Melchizedek's activity according to ii 15. Whether the messenger and the Melchizedek figure are one figure or two is not clear from the extant portion of the text.

3.3.6.3 *Nature of Figure*

The nature of Melchizedek is not clear, although the common interpretation of him as angelic, if he actually functions as a judge, would make this text the exception to the observation from other texts that angels administer sentences but do not judge. Proposals for the nature of Melchizedek include angelic, divine, and human, including messianic.⁶⁰ The various arguments used to support his angelic nature are weaker than they may initially appear, and I incline toward viewing Melchizedek in this text as a human, although one with extraordinary characteristics.

Franco Manzi proposes that Melchizedek is divine, considering מלכי צדק in 11QMelch a descriptive designation for Yahweh and viewing the figure as a symbolic "ipostasi divina" of Yahweh.⁶¹ Others viewing Melchizedek as divine include J.T. Milik and Rick Van de Water.⁶² Few have followed these proposals. The absence of evidence for a figure called Melchizedek playing a divine role in other texts and the lack of features requiring a divine identification of the figure (on which see below) make them unlikely.

⁶⁰ See Eric F. Mason, "The Identification of *MLKY ŠDQ* in 11QMelchizeek: A Survey of Recent Scholarship," *QC* 17 (2009): 51–60 for a survey of six views concerning the Melchizedek figure in 11QMelch.

⁶¹ Franco Manzi, *Melchizedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran*, AnBib 136 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1997), 31. By contrast, he views the smiling figure in 4Q'Amram^b (4Q544) to be angelic. See further 31–39.

⁶² J.T. Milik, "*Milkî-šedeq* et *Milkî-reša* ' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–126, esp. 122–125, and Rick Van de Water, "Michael or Yhwh? Toward Identifying Melchizedek in 11Q13," *JSP* 16 (2006): 80.

The majority view considers the figure to be angelic.⁶³ The principal support offered for Melchizedek's angelic nature are use of Psalm 82:1 and Psalm 7:8–9 to speak of judgment administered by the figure, harmonization with possible mentions of Melchizedek in other texts from Qumran, his actions against Belial, similarities to Michael's portrayal in other texts, and association with other mythologies. The first of these has already been discussed; while עליו introduces the quotations about judgment, alternative explanations are possible by which the quotations do not speak directly of Melchizedek.

The second line of support comes from reconstructing מלכי צדק in 4Q401 11 3 and hypothesizing it as one of the three names of 4Q'Amram^b 3 2. Carol Newsom, as well as García Martínez and Tigchelaar, reconstruct 4Q401 11 3 as [... מלכי] צדק כוהן בעד[ת אל ...].⁶⁴ The fragment contains a portion of the צ of צדק and part of the tail of the ד after בע, but מלכי and ת אל comes only from speculative reconstruction.⁶⁵ The series of songs in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (ShirShabb) describe worship of God by angels called, among other labels, אלים, אלוהים, מלאכים, נשיאים, and even כוהנים.⁶⁶ The supposition that the priest in this

⁶³ In addition to works mentioned below, Joseph A. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 86 (Leiden: Brill 2010), 146–52 (Angel's thorough study unfortunately does not sufficiently distinguish between “heavenly” or “exalted” characteristics/status and angelic nature at this point) and Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 70.

⁶⁴ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 810 and Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, HSS 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 134. Newsom, consistent with the occurrence of “Melchizedek” elsewhere in Qumran literature places a space between מלכי and צדק. James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 162 follows Newsom.

⁶⁵ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 143–44.

⁶⁶ See *ibid.*, Plate II.

line is an angel is therefore reasonable.⁶⁷ Identification of this priest as Melchizedek is more speculative. Syntactically, צדק and what precedes may relate to כוהן in various ways aside from apposition, and the line contains no clear indication that צדק is part of a name or epithet. Within ShirShabb itself, צדק may complete a designation for righteous angels, as in 4Q403 1 i 38 (רוחות צדק) and 4Q403 1 i 27 (נועדי צדק). Elsewhere the text appears to speak of God as מלך אמת [ו] צדק (4Q404 5 6). Newsom's own observation that "if this restoration is correct, Melchizedek would be the only individual angel named in the Sabbath songs" calls for further caution.⁶⁸

Newsom suggests that the name Melchizedek may also occur in 4Q401 22 3, but the reconstruction here is even more speculative, and she offers נועדי צדק and כוהן צדק, both attested elsewhere in ShirShabb, as alternatives.⁶⁹ Fragment 22 only preserves the top of צדק in this line along with the preceding ׳ and part of the top of one other preceding letter.⁷⁰

Although also entertaining the possibility of Melchizedek's name in both these lines as well as in 4Q403 1 ii 21, James R. Davila notes concerning ShirShabb that "it is not entirely certain that Melchizedek was mentioned in it at all."⁷¹

⁶⁷ The use of the singular, in contrast to the plural designations for angels throughout most of ShirShabb, might suggest that a different kind of figure or perhaps a special angel may be in view, as the comments in *ibid.*, 134 suggest.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 143–44. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 162 follows Newsom by reconstructing מלך צדק.

⁷⁰ See Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, Plate III.

⁷¹ James R. Davila, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*, ed. James R. Davila, *STDJ* 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 251. Davila himself does not distinguish sharply between divine, angelic, and human natures in his discussion of Melchizedek. While he elsewhere says generally of Melchizedek in the Dead Sea Scrolls that he is "an angelic being," he notes the human nature of Melchizedek in

The occurrence of מלכי צדק in 4Q^a Amram^b 3 2 also depends on speculative reconstruction. The common interpretation of this text views two corresponding figures, one righteous and the other wicked, confronting Amram in a dream. In response to Amram's question concerning the identity of one, he receives the answer [...]הדן in 2 2, followed by [...]ומלכי רשע [...] in 2 3. Assuming that the same figure is in view, 2 5 explains, אנה שליט. This contrasts with the figure speaking in 2 6, who states, [...]על כול חשוכא [...]ל. Due to the correspondence of the two figures, many posit that one of the three names is מלכי צדק.⁷² Kobelksi and Manzi further speculate by reconstructing corresponding sets of three names for the two figures: בליעל, שר חשוכא, and מלכי רשע for the evil figure, and מיכאל, שר נהורא, and מלכי צדק for the other.⁷³ The phrase מלכי רשע does appear to be a negative designation corresponding to מלכי צדק, making speculation of מלכי צדק as a name of the other figure reasonable, but no preserved part of the text makes clear that the evil figure has three names, nor do the names of the two figures necessarily correspond.

apGen. As he continues this discussion, however, he states that “the earthly priest-king is now an angelic judge” in 11QMelch and speaks of Melchizedek “continuing his priestly duties in the heavenly temple after his apotheosis” in 4Q401. See James R. Davila, “Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 463–64.

⁷² E.g., Milik, “*Milkî-šedeq et Milkî-reša*” dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” 139.

⁷³ Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, 27, 33, 36; Manzi, *Melchizedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran*, 33–35 (Manzi has שר חושך for the second name of the evil figure). Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 267–68, although with more cautions, follows Kobelski but suggests מלאך חושך from 1QS iii 20–21 for the evil figure's second name.

Harmonizing with another text, F. du Toit Laubscher reconstructs ii 13b to resemble lines about the angel of truth in *4QCatena A* (4Q177) in order to argue for the figure's angelic nature.⁷⁴ 4Q177 iv 12 offers one line about the angel of truth using language similar to 11QMelch in a manner similar to Laubscher's reconstruction. Harmonization with these texts to argue for Melchizedek's nature, however, assumes their identity when the texts do not give the same name for the figure and may not reflect the same kind of thought.

The third support for Melchizedek's angelic nature, his interaction with Belial, is also not conclusive. In *I Enoch* 55:4, the son of man figure judges Azazel and demons while the text elsewhere distinguishes him from angels. Angels assisting Melchizedek may be the subject of בליל באש [ו] יתממ in 11QMelch ii 7. If Melchizedek is also part of this subject, that would indicate more direct activity against Belial, but again, this would not clearly establish his angelic nature. The members of the community denounce the spirits who follow Belial in 4Q286 7 ii. Notably, García Martínez describes this activity of the figure as one traditionally associated with a human messiah, although he views Melchizedek as a heavenly, angelic figure.⁷⁵

Fourth, some note similarities between the role of Melchizedek and the role of Michael in other texts to identify the two figures, thereby classifying the former as angelic in nature.⁷⁶ The portrayal of Michael in opposition to Belial in 1QM could appear to support this

⁷⁴ F. du Toit Laubscher, "God's Angel of Truth and Melchizedek: A Note on 11QMelch 13b," *JSJ* 3 (1972): 46–51.

⁷⁵ García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán," 76–77. This differs from his earlier assessment that Melchizedek is the same human as in Gen 14 and Ps 110 and, although "heavenly," not strictly transformed into an angel in Florentino García Martínez, "Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts," in Parry and Ricks, *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24.

⁷⁶ E.g., in addition to those mentioned below, Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 263–64; Otto Betz, "The Kerygma of Luke," *Int* 22 (1968): 135; van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," 369–72. Gareth Lee Cockerill, similarly to Manzi, proposes that מלכי צדק in 11QMelch functions as a title without

reading.⁷⁷ Paul J. Kobelski admits, however, that, outside of 11QMelch and 4Q^cAmram^b, which he considers to equate the two figures, attested identification of Melchizedek and Michael is medieval.⁷⁸ He cites only *Yalqut ḥadash* f. 115, col. 3, no. 19 as clearly identifying the figures, also noting *Zohar ḥadash* folio 22,4 and folio 41,3 as implying this identification.⁷⁹ Since these are late medieval esoteric texts, and the latter only implies this identification, they cannot provide support for interpretation during the Second Temple period. Some earlier rabbinic material in fact presents Melchizedek clearly as a human since it identifies him with Shem: *b. Nedarim* 32b; *Genesis Rabbah* 44:7; 56:10; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Neofiti* on Genesis 14:18. Two additional points argue against identification of Melchizedek and Michael in 11QMelch. First, despite the number and variety of lists of archangels in Jewish and Christian pseudepigraphal literature prior to the medieval period, the name Melchizedek does not appear in them.⁸⁰ Second, depictions of Michael in a variety of Second Temple and later texts consistently portray him as an angelic military leader but not as a ruling figure.⁸¹ While the figure in 11QMelch performs a military function, the view that equates Michael and Melchizedek does not provide an explanation for why this text designates its figure with a name incorporating מלך that appears for a king in Genesis 14:18. Puech also notes that the description of Melchizedek in 11QMelch differs

association with Gen 14 and Ps 110, but, unlike Manzi, understands it to refer to an archangel who is Michael. See “Melchizedek or ‘King of Righteousness’,” *EvQ* 63 (1991): 305–312, esp. 311–312 on Michael.

⁷⁷ See 1QM ix 15–16; xvii 6–7.

⁷⁸ See Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša* ^c, 73.

⁷⁹ He cites C. Schöttgen, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae*, 2.643–44, which was not available to me, for the implicit identification in the *Zohar ḥadash*.

⁸⁰ See the discussion of “principal angels” and “angelic hierarchies” in Aleksander R. Michalak, *Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 330 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 55–98, esp. 63–68 with notes.

⁸¹ See Michalak, *Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature*, 99–124 on Michael.

from that of the Prince of Light in 1QM in attributing to him the roles of high priest and judge.⁸² Michael appears to have some priestly functions, particularly through intercession, in various texts as Hannah notes, although the texts Hannah mentions do not say he makes atonement and some do not mention Michael by name.⁸³ Hannah considers *3 Baruch* 11:4, 9; 14:2 “the most explicit portrayal of Michael as a heavenly high priest in the apocalyptic literature.” Even here, however, although Michael brings the prayers of the righteous to God, the text says nothing of him making atonement for them.⁸⁴ Not until *b. Hagigah* 12b, *b. Zebahim* 62a, and *b. Menahot* 110a are there clear references to Michael making offerings. This might suggest that he makes atonement, but the passages do not specify whether or not the offerings are for atonement.

Finally, some argue for Melchizedek’s angelic nature by positing influence from other mythologies. Kobelski associates Melchizedek and Belial (or the corresponding Melchireša’ outside of 11QMelch, as in *4QCurses* [4Q280]) with Ahura Mazda and Ahriman in Zoroastrianism, which he argues significantly influenced Qumran thought.⁸⁵ 11QMelch does not contain any material specifically indicative of Zoroastrian influence, however, and a general influence of Zoroastrianism on the thought reflected in the Qumran literature is not clear in view of the lack of elements demonstrably particular to Zoroastrianism.⁸⁶ More

⁸² Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit de 11QMelkîsédeq,” 511.

⁸³ Hannah, *Michael and Christ*, 42–45.

⁸⁴ This delivery of prayers occurs only in 11:4 in the Greek, which has Michael transmit the good works of the righteous in 11:9 and 14:2, so Michael’s delivery of prayers in these verses is probably not original and perhaps entered the Slavonic through harmonization with 11:4, possibly with the influence of Rev 5:8; 8:3–4. See Alexander Kulik, *3 Baruch: Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 305, 360.

⁸⁵ Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša’*, 84–98. Kobelski considers Melchizedek’s angelic nature established by other means prior to suggesting this derivation.

⁸⁶ The methodological problems in attempts to demonstrate Zoroastrian influence on Judaism noted in James Barr, “The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity,” *JAAR* 53 (1985): 201–35 still apply. Davila, drawing from another mythology, proposes that a divine or quasi-divine Melchizedek in the Second Temple Period and in some gnostic literature derives from earlier veneration of Melchizedek in the Davidic Period, itself related to the royal funerary cult from Ugarit. See James R. Davila,

recently, Paul Heger has challenged the idea of Zoroastrian influence on Qumran literature, drawing attention to the difference in nature and function between the powers in Zoroastrianism and angelic beings across literature from Qumran: the Zoroastrian powers are divinities that possess control over humans and animals, while the angels in Qumran literature are subordinate to God and, although they may attempt to influence humans toward good or evil, do not exert the same level of control over humans.⁸⁷ Furthermore, whether during this period Zoroastrianism emphasized the strong dualism associated with that religion is questionable. Shaul Shaked observes that, although Zoroastrianism was dualistic, “there is no attestation of a declared dualistic stand before the Sasanian period” and that its “dualistic consciousness” may have developed through interaction with Judaism and Christianity.⁸⁸ All this suggests that, while the content of 11QMelch may not exclude the angelic nature of Melchizedek, the support for this position is far from conclusive.

Finally, some writers have proposed that Melchizedek is human, including Carmignac, Alessandro Cavicchia, David Flusser, Israel Knohl, and Rainbow.⁸⁹ Arguing specifically for the figure’s messianic identity, Rainbow appeals for support to the messianic use of Isaiah 52:7 in Acts 10:36; *Perek Haš-Šalom* 13 (59b); *Pesiqta* 51a, 20; and *Leviticus*

“Melchizedek: King, Priest, and God,” in *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth: Challenge or Response?*, ed. S. Daniel Breslauer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 217–34.

⁸⁷ Paul Heger, “Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings,” in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 39–101, esp. 64–76.

⁸⁸ Shaul Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation: Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, JLCRS 16 (1994; repr., London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2004), 25.

⁸⁹ Carmignac, “Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq,” 343–78, esp. 363–69; Alessandro Cavicchia, “*Malky-sedeq*, ‘unto’, profeta-araldo, sacerdote e re nel giubileo escatologico (11QMelch II,2–14),” *Bib* 91 (2010): 518–33; David Flusser, “Melchizedek and the Son of Man,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 186–92, esp. 188–89; Israel Knohl, “Melchizedek: A Model for the Union of Kingship and Priesthood in the Hebrew Bible, 11QMelchizedek, and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, *STDJ* 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 255–66; and Rainbow, “Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran,” 179–94.

Rabbah 9:9, of Isaiah 61:1–2 in Luke 4:18–19, and of Daniel 9:25–26 generally.⁹⁰ Knohl makes the following points: (1) 11QMelch does not mention the name Michael; (2) the text uses Isaiah 61 (which may account for [הַצֶּדֶק] אֱלִי in 2:14 corresponding to אֱלִי הַצֶּדֶק in Isaiah 61:3 and presentation of Melchizedek as their king), a text about a human figure; (3) Jeremiah 23:5–6 may account for the substitution of the figure for Yahweh in its use of scriptural texts.⁹¹

Three additional arguments may suggest the figure's human nature. First, the designation of the figure as מַלְכִי צֶדֶק itself. Although the designation could hypothetically speak of a figure as righteous in royal terms, for an audience familiar with scriptural texts, which 11QMelch implies, it could recall the name in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110. A usual construct construction would appear as מֶלֶךְ צֶדֶק without the י, and the other contemporary references to Melchizedek already mentioned (to which may be added the New Testament references) show that he was a well-known figure.

Second, the activity of the figure does not include anything particular to an angelic nature or necessarily exclusive of a human one. García Martínez in 2000, although understanding the figure as an angel, suggests that the absence of an explicit designation of him as an angel is the result of previous conception of Melchizedek as earthly rather than heavenly.⁹² For him, the figure shares all the functions of the messiah but is portrayed as angelic.⁹³ Since much of the support for the angelic nature of the figure comes from his function in text, this brings into question whether an angelic nature is necessary.

⁹⁰ Rainbow, "Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran," 189–90.

⁹¹ Knohl, "Melchizedek," 260–62.

⁹² García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán," 74.

⁹³ See throughout García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán," 70–80, esp. 72–77, 80. On 77 he lists these messianic activities as "aportar la salvación escatológica,

Finally, in later Jewish writings, Melchizedek can remain human while becoming in some ways extraordinary. Fred L. Horton's observation that the rabbinic literature attests Melchizedek as an eschatological figure along with other human figures but does not clearly speak of him as angelic or divine draws attention to how an exalted, human figure labeled "Melchizedek" could play a role in the eschaton without forfeiting his human nature.⁹⁴ Horton concludes after surveying mentions of early Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, and Rabbinic literature that only in Christian and Gnostic literature does he appear to be an angelic or divine figure, and that texts that do speak of him in this way do so because of their use of Hebrews 7:3.⁹⁵ In 2 *Enoch* again, Melchizedek is human but extraordinary, conceived without a man, taken away by an archangel (Gabriel in the short recension, Michael in the long recension), and returning at a later time as a priest in 71:33 in the short recension.⁹⁶ The long recension anticipates a future Melchizedek in 71:34.

To conclude, not enough of the text remains to conclusively determine Melchizedek's nature. Most likely are that the figure is angelic or that he is human, although the arguments

destruir los ejércitos de Belial, realizar el juicio final e introducir la era de paz eterna para los elegidos." Also García Martínez, "Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften," 202–203.

⁹⁴ Fred L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 124–30. For a recent brief overview of Melchizedek traditions from Gen 14 through rabbinic Judaism, see Moshe Reiss, "The Melchizedek Traditions," *SJOT* 26 (2012): 259–65. The article appears to mistake 11QMelch for 4Q544 on 263.

⁹⁵ See throughout Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*, esp. the conclusion in 152–72.

⁹⁶ The provenance of the ending of 2 *Enoch* is uncertain. Christfried Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 450–51 dates chapters 71–72 to before the destruction of the Second Temple on the basis of the festival in 68:5–69:19 extending to the 17th of Tammuz, which he argues would have not been a time for celebration in a later composition due to its association with the fall of Jerusalem to Titus. Böttrich's calculation of the date, however, uses a different calendar than that in 13:3–4, as he notes in 451n24. Beverly A. Bow, "Melchizedek's Birth Narrative in 2 *Enoch* 68–73: Christian Correlations," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline (Harrisburg, Pa: Trinity Press International, 2000), 33–41, by contrast, entertains the possibility that the story of Melchizedek's birth may be of Christian origin because of similarities with the births of Jesus, John the Baptist, and Mary in Christianity. Significantly, however, 2 *Enoch* "is dense with Semiticisms, particularly in the narrative section of 68–72," according to Grant Macaskill, "2 *Enoch*: Manuscripts, Recensions, and Original Language," in *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*, ed. Andrei A. Orlov and Gabriele Boccacini, *Studia Judaeslavica* 4 (Brill: Leiden, 2012), 101, suggesting a Jewish origin even for this final section.

for his angelic nature are not strong. The figure may, like the son of man figure in the Similitudes of Enoch, judge angels, and he may have a priestly role of making atonement, but in other respects nothing in the description of the figure's judgment clearly extends beyond the descriptions of the messiah in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.

3.3.6.4 *Principal Use of Scripture*

11QMelch successively interprets Leviticus 25:13, Psalm 82:2, and Leviticus 25:9 in column ii. The end of column ii breaks off before finishing the quotation of Leviticus 25:9 before its interpretation, and the fragmentary nature of column iii does not allow for determining which scriptural texts it interprets.⁹⁷

The interpretation of Leviticus 25:13 immediately links to Deuteronomy 15:2 and uses its שמטה ליהוה ([ל] שמטה in 11QMelch ii 3–4) to speak of an eschatological remission giving freedom and atonement. The quotations from Psalms 82:1; 7:8–9; and 82:2 have already been mentioned. Column ii quotes Isaiah 52:7 and Daniel 9:25 to speak of the מבשר in lines 15–16 and 25. Finally, הוואה הכתוב עליו אשר before the lacuna in ii 19 may introduce a quotation from Isaiah 61:1. García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct ii 20 as [...] לנח[ם] ה[אבלים פשרו] [ל]ה[שכימה בכול קצי הע] וולם [...]. Even if not quoted here, Isaiah 61 lies in the background. לקרא שנת־רצון ליהוה in ii 9 looks back to ליהוה in ii 9 looks back to ליהוה in Isaiah 61:2, the only verse in the Old Testament in which both שנה and רצון occur.⁹⁸ ויום

⁹⁷ See the arrangement of the fragments in Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11 II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*, incorporating earlier editions by J.P.M. van der Ploeg, with a contribution by Edward Herbert, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), plate 27 with the description on 221.

⁹⁸ This connection with Isa 61:2 is generally acknowledged, as by, e.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11,” *JBL* 86 (1967): 36 and Merrill Miller, “The Function of Isa 61:1–2 in 11Q Melchizedek,” *JBL* 88 (1969): 467–69, but I have not seen anyone note the uniqueness to Isa 61:2 of the occurrence of the two words together.

נקם משפטי א]ל in ii 13, in view of the other use of the chapter, likewise provides נקם לאלהינו in ii 6 alludes to לקרא לשבויים דרור in Isaiah 61:1.⁹⁹ M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude suggest use of Isaiah 61:1 earlier in the text, connecting their reconstruction of משה, לבשר, רוח in i 18 to והמבשר הו[אה מ]שיח הרו[ח] in i 18 to רוח, לבשר, and משה.¹⁰⁰ The text exploits earlier scriptural allusion, recognizing the link from לבשר in Isaiah 61:1 to מבשר in Isaiah 52:7, as well as the use of Leviticus 25:10 in Isaiah 61:1.¹⁰¹ George Brooke views 11QMelch and Luke 4:18–19 as reflecting “a common exegetical tradition” through their shared combination of these two texts from Isaiah.¹⁰² Whether drawing from an exegetical tradition or not, 11QMelch’s use of Isaiah 61:1, Isaiah 52:7, and Leviticus 25:13 together may reflect not only a recognition of shared lexemes, but also sensitivity to the network of allusions by which Isaiah 61:1 uses both the law of the Jubilee year in Leviticus 25 and Isaiah 52:7 to depict future restoration. Unlike many of the other texts considered, the preserved portion of 11QMelch does not directly use Isaiah 11. Isaiah 60:17–61:1 uses Isaiah 11:1–9,¹⁰³ however, suggesting that Isaiah 11 may still exert influence.

⁹⁹ As also noted by M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, “11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament,” *NTS* 12 (1966): 306.

¹⁰⁰ de Jonge and Van der Woude, “11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament,” 306.

¹⁰¹ See Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 141–42 and the parallels indicative of this use in Walther Zimmerli, “Das „Gnadenjahr des Herrn“,” in *Archäologie und altes Testament: Festschrift für Kurt Galling zum 8. Januar 1970*, ed. Arnulf Kuschke and Ernst Kutsch (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1970), 324–27. On the use of Dan 8:24–27 and Isa 61:1 in 11QMelch in relation to the use of Lev 25 in those two texts and legal exegesis in 11QMelch, see Michael Bartos and Bernard M. Levinson, “‘This Is the Manner of the Remission’: Implicit Legal Exegesis in 11QMelchizedek as a Response to the Formation of the Torah,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 351–71, esp. 360–65.

¹⁰² George J. Brooke, “Jesus, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Scrolls Scholarship,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 22.

¹⁰³ Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 86–87.

Whether 11QMelch uses Psalm 110 and Genesis 14, the two scriptural texts that mention Melchizedek, seems more difficult to determine. Kobelski, and Aleksander R. Michalak following him, view the designation Melchizedek and his role of administering judgment as indicating the influence of Psalm 110.¹⁰⁴ His future priestly provision of atonement in ii 8 could easily derive from Psalm 110:4. An attested tradition, particularly in early Christian texts, interprets the אֵיבִיךָ in Psalm 110:1 as evil spiritual powers or death.¹⁰⁵ This verse may also explain the opposition of Melchizedek to Belial in 11QMelch, although it does not use the language of subjection under his feet. In any case, material from Psalm 110 in the preserved portions of 11QMelch would be limited to the name of the figure and its combination of ideas rather than allusions through lexical parallels.

A larger network of associated texts showing awareness of Genesis 13 may underlie the use of the quoted scriptural texts with a figure named Melchizedek, in turn tying Melchizedek in 11QMelch to the priest of Genesis 14. 11QMelch follows Isaiah 61:1–2 in its peculiar application of the Jubilee year from Leviticus 25 to speak of future restoration in terms of a release brought about by God for his people.¹⁰⁶ Isaiah 61:1–3 brings together various themes from the latter chapters of Isaiah, including the divinely anointed messenger

¹⁰⁴ Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša* ‘, 53–54; Michalak, *Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature*, 182, 184. Kobelski argues for use of Ps 110 by 11QMelch due to the number of parallels. He notes exaltation of the figure, victory of the figure over enemies, royalty of the figure, and judgment. He also suggests 11QMelch may interpret the חֵילךְ בַּהֲדָרִי יְקֹדֵשׁ in Ps 110:3, noting the textual problem in the verse, as an army on the הַהָרִים of Isa 52:7. See *Melchizedek and Melchireša* ‘, 134.

¹⁰⁵ Ps 110:1 is applied to subjection of spiritual beings in Rom 16:20 in combination with Gen 3:15, or, in 1 Cor 15:25–26, death. LAB 30:5 also mentions the placement of angels under the feet of the people of Israel, but allusion to Ps 8:7 rather than Ps 110:1 is more likely in this case because the angels are not enemies and Deborah’s speech continues by speaking of God’s use of celestial bodies for their benefit, perhaps loosely recalling Ps 8:4. *T. Sim.* 6:5–6 may reflect the connection of Gen 3:15 with a larger theme of the placement of evil spiritual powers underfoot, possibly from Ps 110, but in this case possibly mediated through Luke 10:19. *T. Levi* 18:12 probably derives from Luke 10:19.

¹⁰⁶ Zimmerli, “Das „Gnadenjahr des Herrn“,” 326 notes this feature of the use of Lev 25 in Isa 61 to be its “Besonderheit.”

who announces freedom for the שבויים and אסורים in their restoration from captivity.¹⁰⁷ In particular, Isaiah 52:2, a few verses earlier than the part of the same passage that occurs in 11QMelch, calls to the שבי ירושלם and the שביה בת-ציון at the time of their release, and the servant of Yahweh in Isaiah 49:6, anointed by the spirit of Yahweh in 42:1, is Yahweh's servant להקים את-שבטי יעקב ונצירי ישראל להשיב. Again in 42:7, the servant releases prisoners. The language of Genesis 14 may have encouraged this link between Melchizedek and providing freedom. In Genesis 14:14, Abram hears כי נשבה אחיו, using the same root as in Isaiah 52:2, Isaiah 61:1, and 11QMelch ii 4. Genesis 14:16 says of him, וישב את כל-הרכש וגם את-לויט אחיו ורכשו השיב וגם את-הנשים ואת-העם, repeating the *hiph 'il* of שוב that occurs for the deliverance from captivity in Isaiah 49:6 and 11QMelch ii 6.¹⁰⁸

To summarize, 11QMelch is unique among the texts considered. It presents a priestly figure who participates in the administration of God's judgment, makes atonement for the righteous, and acts against Belial and those who follow him in the eschatological Jubilee. Like the presentation of the figures in the other texts, however, the text says nothing about him judging humans who have died. The document uses a variety of scriptural texts to speak of him, combining ideas of an eschatological Jubilee, an anointed messenger, future judgment, and release from captivity. Although extraordinary, this figure is most likely human, perhaps one who has experienced a heavenly ascent and will return in the future.

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, 323–24 for a listing of material from Isa 40–52 that Isa 61:1–3 uses.

¹⁰⁸ Anders Aschim, "Melchizedek the Liberator: An Early Interpretation of Genesis 14?," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar 1996 Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 250–51 also notes the parallel role of Melchizedek as liberator in Gen 14 and 11QMelch, although without detailing how this may relate to the larger network of scriptural use in 11QMelch.

3.4 Conclusion

Like the pseudepigraphal literature considered, 1QSb, 4Q161, 4Q246, 4Q285, 4Q521, and 11QMelch view judgment as an essential part of their eschatological expectation, and each presents a figure associated with the future time of judgment. The set of texts shows variety, but much in their interpretation remains unclear. Some seem to describe a davidic king who judges transnationally at the time of his appearance (1QSb, 4Q161, 4Q285), using Isaiah 11. Other scriptural texts combine with Isaiah 11, such as Psalm 2, Genesis 49:9–10, Ezekiel 38–39, and Micah, to paint a portrait of the figure, his eschatological victory, and his judgment in these texts. Others (4Q246, 4Q521, and 11QMelch) evidence an eschatological messenger tradition, using Isaiah 61, Daniel 9, or Malachi 3. In these the figures may judge (4Q246), have authority in heaven and earth (4Q521), or administer God's judgment and oppose Belial (11QMelch), but they do not clearly function as judges in the ultimate, comprehensive manner that *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* emphasize as God's alone. All appear to be human, although some may have extraordinary characteristics, and a final determination of the nature of the figure in 11QMelch is not possible. None of these texts speak of their figures extending mercy or having authority to forgive, although Melchizedek in 11QMelch makes atonement for the righteous as a priest.

Unlike the pseudepigraphal texts, none of these Qumran texts includes indications that its figure is preexistent, although Melchizedek may be a figure from the past who returns in the future. None judges the dead, and only Melchizedek opposes evil angelical beings, although whether he does so as a judge is unclear.

CHAPTER 4: JESUS' JUDGMENT IN ACTS 10:42: DIVINE AUTHORITY AND MESSIANIC IDENTITY

4.1 Introduction

Peter concludes his speech to Cornelius in Acts 10:42–43 by declaring that the apostolic mission testifies to Jesus as the divinely appointed judge of the living and the dead. Jesus is the one through whose name all who believe in him receive forgiveness of sins. Peter's declaration that οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν is the earliest attestation of a formula repeated in New Testament texts in 2 Timothy 4:1 and 1 Peter 4:5, in the apostolic and later church fathers, and in early Christian confessions over a widespread area.¹ Previous studies, however, have not addressed the christological implications of its statement of Jesus' role as judge in the speech's climactic final two verses. These verses deserve attention not only because of the reception of the statement of Jesus' role as judge and this scholarly *lacuna*. In these verses, Jesus' role as judge exceeds that of other eschatological judgment figures considered in pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature. Acts 10's presentation of Jesus as judge both suggests divine authority and affirms messianic identity.

¹ Texts designating Jesus as judge of the living and the dead, using the phrase from Acts 10:42, include Pol. Phil. 2:1; 2 Clem. 1:1; Acts John 8; Justin, *Dial.* 118:1; Claudius Apollinaris, *Frag.* 4; Acts Thom. 28, 30; Hipp., *Fr. Prov.* 27; 58; Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 19.2; *Panarion* 66.67.7; *Homilia in Christi resurrectionem* 13; Ps.-Athanasius, *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 12; *Epistula Catholica*; Asterius the Sophist, *Homilies on the Psalms* 2.19; 25.33; Didymus the Blind, *De trinitate* 29.1, 3; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 16.1; and *Apos. Con.* 5.20, among others. See François Bovon, *Vocatione Gentium: Histoire de l'interprétation d'Act. 10, 1–11, 18 dans les six premiers siècles*, BGBE 8 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1967), 210 for further references and August Hahn and G. Ludwig Hahn, eds., *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, 3rd ed. (Breslau: E. Mordens Stern, 1897) for the text of confessions. Hahn and Hahn show similar phrases in many early confessions, including those from the Palestinian, Egyptian, Roman, Armenian, and Syrian churches. Some texts, such as *Barn.* 7:2 use a verb and thus may more directly follow 2 Tim 4:1 or 1 Pet 4:5 or may express the same idea as in the three New Testament texts without directly using one of them.

4.2 Previous Study of Acts 10:34–43

Despite various studies devoted to the Cornelius episode in 10:1–11:18, the statement about Jesus’ judgment in 10:42 has received little attention.² Commentaries often either do

² Studies of Acts 10:1–11:18 have shown significant variety while not addressing judgment in 10:42 and christology, although two recent articles on οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος in 10:36 (on which see §4.5) address the christological significance of this earlier statement in relation to the imperial cult: C. Kavin Rowe, “Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult: A Way through the Conundrum?,” *JSNT* 27 (2005): 279–300 and Justin R. Howell, “The Imperial Authority and Benefaction of Centurions and Acts 10.34–43: A Response to C. Kavin Rowe,” *JSNT* 31 (2008): 25–51. Other recent studies have approached the speech through narratology or literary criticism, or have focused on social relationships. Recent narratological studies include Martha Milagros Acosta Valle, “Actes 10,1–11,18: Une intertextualité différée pour un lecteur davantage impliqué,” *ScEs* 66 (2014): 417–31, an analysis of the episode concentrating on ellipses and the absence of scriptural citations; Joshua D. Garroway, “The Pharisee Heresy: Circumcision for Gentiles in the Acts of the Apostles,” *NTS* 60 (2014): 20–36, which argues that Acts 10:1–11:18 portrays circumcision as extrinsic to Gentile mission in a polemic against a “Pharisee heresy”; and William S. Kurz, “Effects of Variant Narrators in Acts 10–11,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 570–86 (no mention of 10:36, 42), which discusses repetitions. The characterization of Cornelius has attracted particular interest, as in Ronald D. Witherup, “Cornelius Over and Over and Over Again: ‘Functional Redundancy’ in the Acts of the Apostles,” *JSNT* 49 (1993): 45–55; Laurie Brink, *Soldiers in Luke-Acts: Engaging, Contradicting, and Transcending the Stereotypes*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 362 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 148–62, which views Luke-Acts as using stereotypes to characterize Cornelius and other Roman military personnel favorably by both using positive elements of stereotypes and violating expectations by contrasting them with negative ones; and Alexander Kyrychenko, *The Roman Army and the Expansion of the Gospel: The Role of the Centurion in Luke-Acts*, BZNW 203 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 162–82, who views the characterization of Cornelius and other Roman military throughout Luke-Acts as positive according to a Lukan theme of Gentile mission.

Xavier Léon-Dufour, ed., *Exégèse et herméneutique*, Parole de Dieu (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971) contains several essays approaching the speech through literary criticism, including Roland Barthes, “L’analyse structural du récit à propos d’Actes X–XI,” 181–204, which offers a structuralist analysis of the episode. Barthes’ discussion of the speech is largely limited to recognizing Peter’s report concerning Jesus as one of five *résumés* in the story and thus a metalinguistic act. Although Barthes presented this paper in 1969, following his publication of “The Death of the Author,” it is representative of his earlier structuralist approach rather than his later post-structuralism. None of the articles in the volume addresses christology.

Considering social practices and relationships in the theology of Acts, Andrew E. Arterbury, “The Ancient Custom of Hospitality, The Greek Novels, and Acts 10:1–11:18,” *PRSt* 29 (2002): 53–72 argues that the form of Acts 10:1–11:18 includes the principal elements of Greek hospitality in order to show Peter’s acceptance of Cornelius’ hospitality both as a means of Gentile conversion and to advance a theology of Gentile inclusion. Luzia Sutter Rehmann, “What Happened in Caesarea? *Symphagein* as Bonding Experience (Acts 10–11.18),” trans. Martin Rumscheidt, in *Decisive Meals: Dining Politics in Biblical Literature*, ed. Nathan MacDonald, Luzia Sutter Rehmann, and Kathy Ehrensperger, LNTS 449 (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 99–113 highlights the famine in 11:28 as significant for the reading of the passage in that Cornelius, supplied with food because of his position, acts in justice to feed Peter in his hunger in humiliation of a command to eat what he refuses in the vision. Addressing other concerns within the traditional field of biblical studies, Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament*, OBT (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 107–125 analyzes how the passage may portray conversion. François Bovon, “Tradition et rédaction en Actes 10, 1–11, 18,” *TZ* 26 (1970): 22–45 offers a tradition- and redaction-critical study of the episode, concluding that the speech is a Lukan composition with traditional kerygmatic structure and content. Walter T. Wilson, “Urban Legends: Acts 10:1–11:18 and the Strategies of Greco-Roman Foundation Narratives,” *JBL* 120 (2001): 77–99 compares the function of the passage to foundation myths. Peter’s vision has been the subject of a handful of recent studies, including John B.F. Miller, “Exploring the Function of Symbolic Dream-Visions in the Literature of Antiquity, with Another Look at 1QapGen 19 and Acts 10,” *PRSt* 37 (2010): 441–55, which argues that the dream-vision is a means for indicating divine direction without placing responsibility for the interpretation of the dream on God; J.R.L. Moxon, “Peter’s Halakhic Nightmare: The ‘Animal’ Vision of Acts 10:9–16 in Jewish and Graeco-Roman Perspective,” PhD diss., Durham University, 2011; and Clinton Wahlen, “Peter’s Vision and Conflicting Definitions of Purity,” *NTS* 51 (2005): 505–518,

not mention the part of the verse about judgment, or only relate its universality to 10:36, note the similarity to Acts 17:31, and provide some patristic references. Among those providing no development of Jesus' role as judge beyond this are F.F. Bruce, Hans Conzelmann, and Jacob Jervell.³ Beverly Roberts Gaventa's commentary does not even mention the verse in its discussion of 10:34–43.⁴ Rudolf Pesch gives a single sentence of commentary to 10:42,⁵ as does Gerhard Schneider, who adds that Jesus' role as judge relates to his extension of forgiveness.⁶ Daniel Marguerat observes that it identifies Jesus' resurrection as showing that Jesus is universal judge in addition to its significance for the Spirit's coming and giving salvation in 2:33 and 4:12.⁷

Darrell L. Bock, Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, Theodore P. Ferris, Ernst Haenchen, and Eckhard J. Schnabel relate the judgment in 10:42 to the function of the Son of Man.⁸ Bock notes further that the resurrection functions in the speech as a demonstration that

which proposes a distinction between κοινός and ἀκάθαρτος in 10:14 by which κοινός refers to potentially defiled, rather than unclean, food, and corresponds to the state of the “god-fearers” in Acts.

An earlier significant study is Martin Dibelius, “The Conversion of Cornelius,” in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1956), 109–22, which considers questions of historicity while subordinating them to the literary function of the speech. See, for further references, Daniel Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres (1–12)*, CNT 5a (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2007), 362. On the early interpretation of 10:1–11:18, see throughout Bovon, *De Vocatione Gentium* on the first six centuries. While recognizing 10:41b and 10:42b as together “le plus fréquemment cités” within 10:36–37 and 39–43, Bovon only discusses 10:42b specifically on 205–206, 209–210, the former of which mentions John Chrysostom's use of 10:42 in his twenty-third homily on Acts (in which it appears as a frightening warning of judgment, anticipated by the prophets, but leads in the speech to the pardon of sins) and the latter of which provides references for its use in patristic texts without discussing how they use it.

³ F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), 227; Hans Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, HNT 7 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1963), 65; Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, KEK 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 312.

⁴ Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 169–71. She later mentions 10:42 on 214, but not what it says about Jesus as a judge.

⁵ Rudolf Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd study ed., EKKNT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Theologie, 2014), 1:344.

⁶ Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 2: *Kommentar zu Kap. 9,1 – 28,31*, HTKNT 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1982), 79.

⁷ Marguerat, *Les actes des apôtres (1–12)*, 395.

⁸ Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 400; Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary*, vol. 4 of *The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson

Jesus has this role and that in 10:42 Jesus “is the ultimate eschatological judge, possessing full authority over life and death,” but does not develop either of these ideas.⁹ Luke Timothy Johnson, in a single paragraph, provides slightly more comment, noting implicit judgment by Jesus in various passages in Luke and stating that “this future role of the Messiah is only stated explicitly in the two Acts passages” (the other being 17:31).¹⁰ His comments suggest that he understands Jesus’ judgment in 10:42 as a messianic function. Richard I. Pervo adds that 10:42 “extends the concept of ‘universal sovereign’ (v. 36) throughout time” and says that the audience of Acts would expect the judgment to be eschatological.¹¹

A few commentators suggest that Jesus performs divine activity through this judgment, but they do not develop this idea. Thus Schnabel relates Jesus’ judgment in 10:42 to his forgiveness, but only through him being the universal lord of 10:36, and says without development, “Presiding at the last judgment is a divine function.”¹² C.K. Barrett says that this judgment “does not in itself claim that he is divine, though it does mean that he is entrusted with a divine function.”¹³ David G. Peterson also says it is a divine function without

and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920–1933), 122; Theodore P. Ferris, “Exposition,” in G.H.C. MacGregor and Theodore P. Ferris, *The Acts of the Apostles*, in *IB* 9, 140; Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 9th ed., KEK 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 340; Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Acts*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), 503. Bock refers generally to the Similitudes of Enoch’s use of Dan 7, Ferris generally to the Similitudes of Enoch with Luke 22:69; Acts 7:56; 17:31; and Schnabel to Dan 7 with Luke 12:8, while the others take this from the Synoptic Gospels.

⁹ Bock, *Acts*, 399–400, quote from 400.

¹⁰ Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, SP 5 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 193; see also 195: “The expostulation that Jesus is ‘Lord of all’ (10:36) finds its expression in Jesus’ future role of judging all, and in the possibility of forgiveness for all peoples.”

¹¹ Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 281.

¹² Schnabel, *Acts*, 503–504, quote from 503.

¹³ C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., ICC (1994–1998; repr., London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 528.

further development.¹⁴ Craig S. Keener’s comments are suggestive, although he finally views 10:42 as ambiguous in this regard: “the ultimate judge in Jewish sources was always God, the ‘judge of all the earth’ (Gen 18:25; cf. *Test. Ab.* 20:3 A). If this depiction leaves unclear whether Jesus is here assuming a divine prerogative (in view of Acts 10:36, he may be, from Luke’s standpoint at least; see comment there), it does not leave the scope of Jesus’s eschatological authority in question.”¹⁵ The comment on 10:36 to which he refers is brief but significant: “Peter’s language here implies Jesus’s deity, although his Gentile hearers (perhaps even God-fearing Cornelius) would more likely assume this on the basis of typical Gentile use of exalted lords than on familiarity with biblical phraseology.”¹⁶

This survey indicates that, while Peter’s speech to Cornelius has attracted much attention, previous studies have not addressed its christology and the significance of judgment at length. Previous studies also have not noted the distinctiveness of 10:42 in comparison with the description of eschatological judgment figures in Jewish literature contemporary with Acts.

4.3 Acts 10:42 and Divine Authority

The rest of this chapter argues for two points of christological significance for how Acts 10:42 presents Jesus as a judge within the speech of Acts 10:34–43: it suggests divine authority and indicates messianic identity. This section addresses the first of these by considering the scope of Jesus’ judgment, both in comparison to other eschatological judgment figures in the pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature and in relation to God’s

¹⁴ David G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PiNTC (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 338.

¹⁵ Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary*, vol. 2, 3:1–14:28 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 1807.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1801.

unique judgment in those texts and in Luke-Acts, the parallelism between what the speech says of God and of Jesus in his role as judge, the correspondence of the ideas associated with divine impartiality in Deuteronomy 10:17–20 and in Acts 10:34–43, and the relationship between authority to judge and the prerogative to forgive.

4.3.1 The Scope of Jesus' Judgment Is Beyond Other Future Judgment Figures

By asserting that Jesus is *κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν*, Acts 10:42 attributes to Jesus a scope of judgment beyond that of other eschatological judgment figures in contemporary Jewish literature considered in the previous two chapters. No other figure clearly judges both the living and the dead. In *4 Ezra*, although the messiah judges those living at the time of his appearance, the text provides no indications that the messiah will judge those who have died or that he will judge at the final judgment after the resurrection. *Second Baruch* is similar. The messiah is clearly a universal judge. At the end of the time of joy introduced by the messiah's appearing, the resurrection and judgment of all of the dead will occur. God himself, however, and not the messiah, whose own judgment occurs earlier on those living at the time of his appearance, appears to administer this judgment. The Similitudes of Enoch offer the most exalted picture of its messiah among these three texts. Distinguishing between judgment by the messiah and the judgment of God is difficult, and this text generally seems to express a comprehensive scope for the son of man figure's judgment. Even here, however, it does not unambiguously speak of the messiah's judgment of those who have died. A comprehensive resurrection of the righteous in 61:1–5 between mention of God's positive judgment in 60:25 and the son of man figure's positive judgment for holy angels in the following chapter seems to indicate a resurrection to positive judgment for the righteous dead, but a clear statement associating the messiah with this judgment does not appear.

In the Qumran literature considered, all of the texts, with the possible exception of *11QMelchizedek* (11QMelch/11Q13) say nothing of their respective figures judging anyone

aside from living humans at the times when those figures appear. While Melchizedek's judgment in 11QMelch may extend to Belial and other angelic beings that follow him, however, nothing preserved in this text suggests judgment of people who have died.

4.3.2 The Scope of Jesus' Judgment in Acts 10:42 Is Elsewhere Unique to God

In addition to the limited nature of the judgment of the other figures already mentioned, two points further suggest a tendency to understand judging those who have died as a divine prerogative. First, emphasis on God's singularity as judge in the final judgment, which, at least at times, accompanied the resurrection, commonly appears in the other literature considered. Second, leading up to this point in Peter's speech, some features of Luke-Acts appear to reflect a similar view of God being the one uniquely to judge people who have died.

4.3.2.1 *God Is Singularly the Final Judge in Contemporary Jewish Literature*

The survey of eschatological judgment figures in Qumran literature and pseudepigraphal literature has already suggested this point. Recalling the emphasis on God's unique role as ultimate judge in one text, 2 *Baruch*, provides illustration. God is the overseer of the world who will judge everything in 83:7. God emphatically presents himself as universal judge in 19:4 in a manner at least suggesting that, even if anyone else participates in judgment, all judgment must be constitutive of his or subordinate to it. In 21:7, Baruch recognizes God alone as having complete and unrestrained sovereignty. Again, 83:2–3 repeatedly expresses the comprehensiveness of God's final judgment. His role as judge relates to his identity as creator in 44:4–6 and 82:2, and 48:39 speaks of him singularly as 𐤓𐤕𐤁 (“the judge”) who will come in a manner like that in Psalms 96:13 and 98:9.¹⁷ In contrast

¹⁷ See the discussion of μέλλει κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ in Acts 17:31 in the next chapter on the coming of God in these texts in relation to Jesus' judgment in Luke-Acts.

to the limited judgment of the messiah, who judges as part of his limited royal function, this text presents God as judging because he is at all times the universal king and, as creator, the single supreme judge of everything. Other texts that do not mention any other judgment figures stress God's role as judge, such as *4QInstruction* (see, e.g., 4Q416 1 10–14; 4Q423 5 3–4), which associates God's unique role as judge with his unique prerogative to forgive in 4Q417 2 i + 26 15–16. This passage states that all who do not experience his wrath are dependent on forgiveness from him.

4.3.2.2 God Appears to Be the Judge of the Dead prior to This Point in Luke-Acts

As already noted, some contemporary Jewish texts associate God's unique final judgment with the resurrection. Although not emphasizing the agency of judgment, Daniel 12:2 provides precedent for this. The only indication of the timing of Jesus' judgment in Peter's speech to Cornelius' household is its scope over ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. Within Luke-Acts as a whole this suggests judgment at a future time, and specifically the time of the resurrection. Early reception also reflects this interpretation.

First, Acts 17:31, the other explicit affirmation of Jesus' role as judge in Acts places God's judgment by Jesus at a set day in the future. Although it does not mention resurrection of people besides Jesus or a scope of judgment over those who have died, its presentation as a warning to the listeners could mean, in isolation, either that it is expected very soon or that the listeners, even if they die, will have to face this judgment.

Second, Paul affirms resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked in Acts 24:15. Although not explicitly mentioning judgment, Paul's immediately following statement in 24:16 concerning the care he takes to conduct himself without offence indicates that this resurrection relates to judgment: ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀσκῶ ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ παντός. The inclusion of ἐν ταύτῳ at the beginning of 24:16 makes this logical relationship clear. The result is consistent with the descriptions of

judgment at the time of resurrection already noted: the time of the resurrection is the time of final judgment. The inclusion of τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος in the list elaborating Paul's conversations with Felix περὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστεως in Acts 24:24–25 also supports the future time of this judgment. Peter saying that Jesus judges the living and the dead in Acts 10:42 thus affirms judgment of those who have died when they rise in the resurrection.

The early reception of Acts 10:42 also reflects its interpretation as referring to a future judgment at the time when Jesus would come. Use of the phrase κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν in, for example, Polycarp, *To the Philippians* 2.1; *Acts of John* 8; Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 118:1; *Acts of Thomas* 28; Hippolytus, *Fragmenta in Proverbia* 27; 58; Epiphanius, *Homilia in Christi resurrectionem* 13; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Doctrina ad Antiochum ducem* 12; and *Epistula Catholica* reflects such an interpretation. While some other texts, such as Claudius Apollinaris, *Frag.* 4; *Acts of Thomas* 30; Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 19.2; *Panarion* 66.67.7; Didymus the Blind, *De trinitate* 29.1, 3; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 16.1; and *Apostolic Constitutions* 5.20 only designate Jesus as judge of the living and the dead without further specifying time, I have not found any early texts using this phrase to refer to Jesus as a judge exclusive of future judgment.

Within Luke-Acts, however, Jesus' future judgment at the time of the resurrection may suggest identification of this judgment with the judgment that is uniquely God's by his divine authority. Authority to administer forensic punishment following death is singular in Luke 12:4–5: Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἔχόντων περισσώτερόν τι ποιῆσαι. ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε· φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν. ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε. Matthew 10:28 parallels these verses, but contrasts the ability to kill only the σῶμα with the ability to destroy both ψυχὴ and σῶμα in Gehenna. Luke makes active authority and condemnation following death clearer by the sequence that the μετὰ with infinitive

construction indicates, and by using the word ἐξουσία complemented by the phrase ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν. Jesus presents this as additional to killing and as subsequent to death, the result of a judgment of the only one with authority to administer it.

Who renders the judgment bringing this sentence? Most interpreters understand the referent to be God.¹⁸ G.W.H. Lampe and N.T. Wright interpret the verses as a warning to fear destruction by the devil.¹⁹ Wright cites the emphasis on trust in God in Luke 12:6 and understands the passage as presenting Rome as merely an enemy who can kill the body in contrast to “the satan” as the greater enemy. He reasons, “Israel’s god is portrayed as the creator and sustainer, one who can be lovingly trusted in all circumstance, not the one who waits with a large stick to beat anyone who steps out of line.”²⁰ He could have also noted specifically μὴ φοβεῖσθε in 12:7 as a contrast to the instruction to fear in 12:5. Several points, however, support the majority position. (1) The reference to having authority (ἐξουσία) to cast into hell suggests God as referent rather than an evil power. While the devil holds authority

¹⁸ Among those who assume that the object of fear is God without discussing other interpretations are Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 482; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP 3 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991), 195–97; Hans Klein, *Das Lukasevangelium*, KEK 1/3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 440; Erich Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 3rd ed., HNT 5 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck, 1975)), 133; and Wilhelm Wuellner, “The Rhetorical Genre of Jesus’ Sermon in Luke 12.1–13.9,” in *Persuasive Artistry: Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Duane F. Watson, JSNTSup 50 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 106, 110–111. Dennis M. Sweetland, “Discipleship and Persecution: A Study of Luke 12,1–12,” *Bib* 65 (1984): 61–80 does not make direct statements indicating his interpretation of the object of fear in the passage, but seems to assume God as the object throughout. François Bovon, *L’évangile selon Saint Luc* (9,51–14,35), CNT 3b (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1996), 229n56 asserts the referent to be God rather than Satan, citing Jam 4:7 and 1 Pet 5:9. He acknowledges Moulton’s view that humans who kill in verse 4 are the subject of ἀποκτείνειν in 12:5 but says “cela me paraît grammaticalement difficile à admettre” (229n58). H.K. Moulton, “Luke 12:5,” *BT* 25 (1974): 246–47 draws attention to the possibility that ἀποκτείνειν and ἔχοντα in 12:5 do not have the same subject, but that the subject of the former are the people mentioned in 12:4 while God is the subject of the latter. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (X–XXIV)*, AB 28A (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981), 959, who also considers God the object of fear, for additional views with references.

¹⁹ G.W.H. Lampe, “Luke,” in *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Matthew Black and H.H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 834; N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 454–55.

²⁰ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 455.

over the kingdoms of the world and nations in Luke 4:6 and Acts 26:18,²¹ this is authority over a different object. Authority over kingdoms does not equate to authority to cast into Gehenna. Furthermore, shortly before the instruction to fear the one having authority in 12:5, Jesus gives the twelve *δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια*, and in 10:19 he says that he has given *τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ* after telling of the fall of Satan from heaven.²² (2) Luke-Acts consistently presents fear of God positively and not fearing him as negative. God is positively the object of fear in Luke 1:50; 2:10; Acts 10:2, 22, 35; 13:16; and 16:38. Not fearing God is negative in Luke 18:2, 4; and 23:40. (3) The logical contrast in 12:4–5 does not suggest an evil figure. An evil figure as the object of fear would obscure the parallelism between the reason for fear and resultant conduct. (4) The pair of progressions from lesser to greater in 12:4–7 suggests God as the object of fear. F. Scott Spencer notes parallelism between the progression from the lesser objects of fear to God as the greater in 12:4–5 and the lesser objects of God’s care to the greater objects of his care in 12:6–7.²³ While not determinative, God as the object of fear in 12:5 would make God the focus of the greater element in both sets, both of which express his control and power: in the first to determine a sentence of judgment and in the second to provide care for his people. (5) The alternation between warnings of judgment and assurance of divine care with instruction not to be afraid for one’s wellbeing in Luke 12 is consistent with God as the object of fear. The warnings in Luke 12:10–12, 16–21 correspond to 12:1–5

²¹ Wright noted Luke 4:6 to me as relevant to this discussion in support of his interpretation in personal conversation.

²² Even if this fall from heaven portends Satan causing tribulation on earth, as Simon Gathercole, “Jesus’ Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered,” *ZNW* 94 (2003): 143–63 argues, the authority is still that of believers over the powers of Satan, not Satan over believers, especially not over their condemnation following death.

²³ See the table in F. Scott Spencer, “To Fear and Not to Fear the Creator God: A Theological and Therapeutic Interpretation of Luke 12:4–34,” *JTI* 8 (2014): 235.

while the assurance of Luke 10:22–32 corresponds to 12:6–7. (6) Satan never appears as an object of fear in Luke-Acts.²⁴ Rather, Luke-Acts often portrays him as defeated and subjected to Jesus and his followers (although, admittedly, he snatches away the word from hearts of hearers in Luke 8:12). Spencer makes this point in objection to Satan as the object of fear: “Satan . . . might like to have as many miserable companions in hell as he could muster, but Luke’s Jesus regards Satan as already ‘fallen’ under judgment (10:18; 11:18–22), not the final judge.”²⁵ (7) A warning of keeping away from the leaven of the Pharisees since all will be revealed immediately precedes in 12:1–3. This warning anticipates the negative consequences of actions and thereby suitably prepares for a warning to fear God in 12:4–5. Statements of negative judgment have also appeared shortly prior to this against the generation Jesus addresses in 11:31–32, 51. A warning of destruction by God in 12:4–5 is therefore consistent with the near context, despite the comforting portrayal of God also present. (8) Interpreted with God as the object of fear, the same logic occurs in other texts. A near parallel occurs in *4 Maccabees* 13:14–15, which places God in this position. T.W. Manson cites these verses when discussing this text, and David A. deSilva similarly cites the parallel to Luke 12:4–5 in Matthew 10:28 in his comments on *4 Maccabees* 13:14 along with

²⁴ φοβέω occurs twenty-three times in Luke and fourteen times in Acts. It occurs five times in Acts with God as object (10:2, 22, 35; 13:16; 16:38), always positively in the description of a person. It refers to circumstantial fear in view of a potential immediate threat in 5:26; 9:26; 22:29; 23:10; 27:17, and 29. Angels say not to be afraid in 18:9 and 27:24. In Luke, it occurs four times in the present passage. Several times it appears in exhortations not to fear either from an angel (1:13, 30) or from Jesus (5:10; 8:50, daughter will live; 12:7, in view of God’s care, 32). God is positively the object of fear in 1:50 and 2:10. Not fearing God is negative in 18:2, 4; and 23:40. Circumstantial fear in the narrative in view of a perceived immediate threat appears in 2:9 (angels); 8:25 (Jesus calming storm); 8:35 (healed demoniac); 9:34 (entering the cloud at the Transfiguration); 19:21 (in parable of the talents); 20:19; and 22:2. Finally, the disciples are afraid to ask in 9:45.

²⁵ Spencer, “To Fear and Not to Fear the Creator God,” 234.

Martyrdom of Polycarp 11.²⁶ The judgment of those who have died, therefore, is divine judgment, yet in Acts 10:42, Jesus is spoken of as judge of the living and the dead.²⁷

4.3.3 Jesus Parallels God in His Role and the Response to Him in the Speech's Structure

The paralleling of the roles of God and Jesus and the proper human response to them in the speech further suggests the expression of divine authority in the judgment of Jesus. Although not conclusive, when coupled with the other observations this parallelism supports this christological emphasis in the speech. Around a central narration concerning the life of Jesus in 10:37–41, a set of three parallels in inverse order frame the speech at its beginning and end.²⁸

(1) The outermost parallel emphasizes the impartiality of God in accepting humans.

Peter opens the speech by saying ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός in 10:34, proceeding to describe the person whom God receives in 10:35 by saying, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην. Parallel to this opening, and in keeping with the function of the speech in the Cornelius narrative to speak of God's acceptance of Gentiles, 10:43 describes those forgiven as πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν.

Both beginning and end emphasize the universal availability of divine acceptance: ἐν παντὶ

²⁶ According to 8 with the reconstructions in David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus*, SCS (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 42.

²⁷ Other passages in Luke, such as Luke 10:12–15; 11:31–32; and 14:14, anticipate judgment or reward following death, but these passages do not stress the agency and authority of judgment. One other passage that seems to present Jesus as judge of the dead is Luke 13:23–30, where ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης determines who may enter into the kingdom of God, excluding those whom he does not know. The statement that ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας in 13:26 identifies ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης as Jesus. In this passage at least, although it does not use the language of judgment, Jesus appears to be a judge since he determines those who may enter the kingdom of God and those excluded.

²⁸ The parallels in the structure of the speech proposed here do not exclude the possibility of other structures also in the speech, such as those using classical rhetorical categories, e.g., Marguerat, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (1–12), 389 (34–36 *Propositio*: Le Dieu de tous; 37–39a *Narratio I*: Jésus envoyé à Israël; 39b–42 *Narratio II*: Kérygme pascal; 43 *Peroratio*: Jésus, Seigneur universel).

ἔθναι appears in 10:35 and πάντα in 10:43. In both, although divine acceptance is universally available, it requires a human response to a personal object, αὐτόν, as seen through ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτόν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην in 10:35 and through τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν in 10:43. The antecedent of the pronoun αὐτόν, however, shifts. In 10:35, αὐτόν refers back to ὁ θεός in 10:34. In 10:43, αὐτόν, along with every other singular pronoun since verse 38, refers to Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ.²⁹

(2) Moving a further step in from both ends of the speech, benefits for those mentioned in the first parallel emerge in 10:35 and 10:43. A person is δεκτὸς αὐτῷ in the former verse, and the latter expresses this benefit as τούτῳ πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ. Again, the point of reference, expressed through the pronouns, changes. Although the pronouns have different syntactical roles in the two verses, the reference point of acceptability in 10:35 is αὐτῷ, again referring to ὁ θεός, while the one in whom (τούτῳ) and through whose name (διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ) forgiveness is received is Jesus the judge.³⁰

(3) Moving a final step in from the beginning and end of the speech, statements concerning sending the message about Jesus to Israel parallel each other in 10:36 and 10:42.³¹ These two verses parallel emphatic christological statements (οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος, specifying the content of τὸν λόγον in 10:36 [see §4.5], and οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ

²⁹ Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 1:528 and Ben Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 359 prefer identifying the antecedent of τούτῳ in 10:43 as the message rather than Jesus.

³⁰ As the note above mentions, Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 359 understands the antecedent of τούτῳ to be the message about Jesus rather than Jesus himself. This is possible but does not substantially alter the point here since the point of reference and antecedent of the second pronoun in 10:43 are still Jesus.

³¹ Note the two statements as part of the *inclusio* Robert C. Tannehill observes in the speech in *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1986, 1990), 141. Tannehill also mentions the parallel between God's acceptance of Gentiles at the beginning of the speech and forgiveness for all who believe in Jesus in 10:43.

θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν in 10:42) and the sending of this message to Israel (ὃν ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 10:36 and καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι in 10:42). Similar to the change in pronoun antecedents in the previous two parallels, the subject of sending changes in this parallel. In 10:36, God sends τὸν λόγον as the subject of ἀπέστειλεν. In 10:42, Jesus commissions the proclamation of the message about him as the subject of παρήγγειλεν.

In the thought of the speech as a whole, all of these parallel elements about God relate to Jesus' role as judge. Jesus' judgment expresses God's impartiality. Fear of God is the necessary response for people in every nation because Jesus' judgment will come, and its scope extends universally. Those who fear God will be acceptable to him because Jesus' judgment distinguishes between those acceptable to God and those unacceptable to him. That is, Jesus divides between those forgiven through belief in him and, although not mentioned, those who do not believe in him. Peter seems unable at the end of the speech to speak of Jesus without speaking of him in the way that he has already spoken of God.

4.3.4 Elements of Deuteronomy 10:17–20 Correspond to Affirmations Both about God and about Jesus in Acts 10:34–43

Peter's speech contains no marked scriptural quotations, although it includes themes that Luke-Acts earlier associates with passages of scripture, such as Jesus' anointing with the Holy Spirit that Luke 3 and 4 associate with Isaiah 11, 42, and 61. As much as God's acceptance of Gentiles in the same manner as Jewish people appears as something new, however, the affirmation of God's impartiality in 10:34–35 derives from scripture. Luke-Acts explicitly states that scripture anticipated forgiveness of the Gentiles in Luke 24:47 and Acts 26:22–23 in addition to at the end of this speech in 10:43. The particular language of impartiality used here is not in the attested Greek versions of Old Testament texts. The term

προσωπολήμπτῃς does not appear anywhere else in the New Testament. Its cognate noun, προσωπολημψία occurs in Romans 2:11, Ephesians 6:9, Colossians 3:25, and James 2:1; its cognate verb προσωπολημπτέω in James 2:9; and the related adverb ἀπροσωπολήμπτως in 1 Peter 1:17. None of these or other cognate words occurs, however, in Greek literature prior to the New Testament in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database.³² Neither scriptural texts nor other literature, therefore, provide a parallel statement about divine impartiality using the same term.

In Hebrew idiom, however, *Qal* נשא and *Hiph'il* נכר with פנים express the concept of showing partiality, and the Greek terms προσωπολήμπτῃς and προσωπολημψία may very well have derived from them.³³ The Old Testament texts use these idioms of God only three times, each time negated: Deuteronomy 10:17, 2 Chronicles 19:7, and Job 34:19. The particular pairing of God's impartiality and fearing him that appears in Acts 10:34–35 occurs in Deuteronomy 10:17 with its surrounding passage and 2 Chronicles 19:7, which itself uses the passage in Deuteronomy.³⁴ Several points of correspondence between Deuteronomy 10:17–20 and the speech in Acts 10 call for note. These include the combination of affirming the God of Israel as אֱלֹהֵינוּ in 10:17 (corresponding to οὗτος ἐστὶν πάντων κύριος in Acts 10:36),

³² *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library*, ed. Maria C. Pantelia (University of California, Irvine), accessed September 6, 2016, <http://www.tlg.uci.edu>.

³³ As accepted by, e.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1992), 303; Eduard Lohse, “πρόσωπον, εὐπροσωπεία, προσωπολημψία, προσωπολήμπτῃς, προσπολημπτέω, ἀπροσωπολήμπτως,” in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933–1979), 6:780–81; Heinrich Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, HTKNT 6 (Freiburg: Herder, 1977), 75. See Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne, “L’emploi du terme grec ‘prosopon’ dans l’ancien et le nouveau testament,” in *Mélanges Édouard Delebecque*, ed. C. Froidefond (Aix-en-Provence: L’Université de Provence, 1983), 158–64 for further demonstration of this as a semitic use of πρόσωπον in the New Testament differing from how other non-Jewish and non-Christian texts use the word and its cognates.

³⁴ Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 309–310 lists on God's impartiality, in addition to these references, Rom 2:11; Eph 6:9; Col 3:25; and Jas 2:1, 9 in the New Testament.

declaration that לא־ישא פנים in the same verse (corresponding to οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός in Acts 10:34), and the response את־יהוה אלהיך תירא in 10:20 (corresponding to φοβούμενος αὐτόν in Acts 10:35). Deuteronomy 10:18 further elaborates Yahweh's justice, describing him by saying עשה משפט יתום ואלמנה ואהב גר לתת לו לחם ושמלה. Yahweh issues judgment, performing justice (עשה משפט; Greek ποιῶν κρίσις). In view of the other parallels, Yahweh's love for the גר in 10:18 could easily correspond to the thematic acceptance of Gentiles in the Cornelius episode and its speech, particularly since this one category of persons in 10:18 receives more attention than the others through the further instruction in 10:19, ואהבתם את־הגר כ־גרים הייתם בארץ מצרים.³⁵ Finally, although it functions differently in the two passages, both stress the importance of a "name." In Deuteronomy 10:20, the Israelites are to express exclusive allegiance to Yahweh through swearing by his name: את־יהוה אלהיך תירא אתו תעבד ובו תדבק ובשמו תשבע. In Acts 10:43, the prophets testify ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν. These observations do not establish that Peter's speech uses Deuteronomy 10:17–20 in a direct way. The series of correspondences suggest, however, that the speech reflects the same or a similar concept of God's impartiality as that found in Deuteronomy.³⁶

³⁵ Paul Sloan noted to me while discussing this section that the logic of loving the גרים because the people of Israel had themselves been גרים corresponds to that in Acts 10:47 where Peter indicates that no one should prevent baptism for Gentiles οἵτινες τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαβον ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς and in 11:17. John Perry, "Are Christians the 'Aliens Who Live in Your Midst'? Torah and the Origins of Christian Ethics in Acts 10–15," *JSCE* 29 (2009): 162–68, in a discussion of the Torah and Christian ethics, also interprets the position of Cornelius as analogous to a גר.

³⁶ Richard B. Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: Community, Cross, New Creation; A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 399 identifies Acts 10:34–35 as alluding to both Deut 10:17–18 and Ps 15:1–2 but without any support.

What Deuteronomy says of God's impartiality splits equally between what Peter says of God and what he says of Jesus in the speech in Acts 10. Of the six correspondences, two are given to each with two shared by both. While the speech directly affirms the impartiality of God and speaks of fearing God, Acts 10:36 emphatically declares of Jesus that οὗτος ἐστὶν πάντων κύριος, which corresponds to part of Deuteronomy 10:17 affirming Israelite devotion to one God. The declaration of Israel's God as יהוה אלהיכם immediately follows יהוה אחד. The name in 10:43 is that of Jesus. With regard to God issuing judgment to perform justice, to speak of God as impartial implies his judgment, but Jesus' judgment is comprehensive. The identity of the subject loving the גר, those from other nations who are among God's people and recognize him as their God, shows the same fluidity. παντὶ ἔθνει appears in 10:35 just as πάντα does in 10:43, the first to speak of those acceptable to God, the latter of those who believe in Jesus and receive forgiveness through Jesus' name.

4.3.5 Jesus' Authority as Judge Is Associated with the Divine Prerogative of Forgiveness

The progression from the statement of Jesus' role as judge of the living and the dead in 10:42 to the statement of the availability of forgiveness in 10:43 provides a natural link between judgment and forgiveness. Forgiveness, like condemnation, is an outcome of judgment.³⁷ Although the infinitival construction in 10:43 allows the speech to omit a grammatical subject of the action of forgiving, those who receive forgiveness do so through the name of Jesus and by believing in Jesus. When 10:43 speaks of forgiveness, it does so with reference to Jesus.

³⁷ See §1.3.5.

As the scribes and Pharisees ask in Luke 5:21, however, *τίς δύναται ἁμαρτίας ἀφεῖναι εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος ὁ θεός*; This question informs how to understand the later question in Luke 7:49: *τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀφίησιν*. Luke presents those around Jesus as considering forgiveness of sins to be uniquely a divine prerogative. Yet throughout Luke-Acts, forgiveness appears as a core element in the proclamation about Jesus. The apostles' witness about Jesus includes repentance for the forgiveness of sins in Luke 24:47, and in Acts 10:43 forgiveness occurs through Jesus' name (note also Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18 [with Jesus as speaker]).

Outside of Luke-Acts, none of the eschatological judgment figures in contemporary Jewish texts considered in the previous chapters is said to forgive sins, despite their roles as judges. Chapters 62 and 63 of the Similitudes of Enoch use the Servant Song of Isaiah 52:13–53:12 but differ from it in their tone in relation to sin. In the Servant Song, the servant bears the sins of the many (although it does not state that he himself actively forgives), while in the Similitudes the corresponding group of people plead to the son of man for mercy but receive none. Repentance prior to death appropriates God's mercy, and God's role as judge includes his ability to forgive sin in *4 Ezra* 7:139. The text says nothing, however, of the messiah having mercy or forgiving sin. In each of the pseudepigraphal texts considered, the figure designated the "messiah" is a judge who punishes the wicked and from whom the righteous receive peace, joy, and protection. He protects the righteous and vindicates them, and, although these texts mention God as merciful, none of them speaks of the messiah as extending mercy or having authority to forgive. Daniel Johansson, in a careful article on agents of forgiveness in early Judaism, evaluates proposed examples of figures other than God forgiving sin, namely in *2 Enoch* 64:5, *Damascus Document* 14:19, *4QPrayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242), Josephus' *Antiquities* 6.92, the Targum of Isaiah 53, *Testament of Levi* 18:9, and finds that none of these texts actually presents a figure aside from God as forgiving

sin.³⁸ Only Exodus 23:21 and possibly Zechariah 3:4 may suggest that the Angel of Yahweh forgives sin, and his activity is difficult to distinguish from that of Yahweh himself, and notably *b. Sanhedrin* 38b and *Exodus Rabbah* 32.4 note that Two Powers heretics used the former in support of worshiping the Angel of Yahweh as divine.³⁹ *B. Sanhedrin* 38b presents a discussion between R. Idi and a *min* according to R. Nahman in which the *min* uses the third person יהוה in Exodus 24:1 to distinguish between יהוה and the speaker. R. Idi acknowledges the speaker as Metatron, citing Exodus 23:21 as associating their names. The *min* then uses לא ישא לפשעכם in Exodus 23:21 to argue that, since outside of this situation the second figure would forgive sins, they should worship this figure.⁴⁰ *Midrash Psalms* 17:3 also has David say that no one except God can pardon sin.

These observations concerning the scope of Jesus' judgment, the structure of ideas in the speech, the correspondence of features of the speech with the description of divine impartiality in Deuteronomy 10:17–20, and the relationship of forgiveness to Jesus' judgment in the speech cumulatively suggest that the speech attributes divine authority to Jesus in his judgment. The speech contains no direct statements that Jesus is divine or has divine attributes, and the speech does not specify his activity as divine. The speech does not, however, show a discernible line between God and Jesus in how he judges and what the speech associates with his judgment as other texts do between God and other future judgment figures. The fluidity with which the speech speaks of God or Jesus with regard to judgment

³⁸ Daniel Johansson, “‘Who Can Forgive Sins but God Alone?’ Human and Angelic Agents, and Divine Forgiveness in Early Judaism,” *JSNT* 33 (2011): 351–74. Sigurd Grindheim, *God's Equal: What Can We Know about Jesus' Self-Understanding?*, LNTS 446 (2011; repr., London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 65–76 similarly concludes that only God forgives sin, although he considers fewer texts.

³⁹ Johansson, “‘Who Can Forgive Sins but God Alone?’,” 367–69.

⁴⁰ See the discussion in Alan Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (1977; repr., Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2012), 68–71. Note also his suggestion on 131–32 that some two powers heretics may have used Josh 24:19 to distinguish between a creator God and a God who forgives.

presents the authority by which God is the final and ultimate judge as an authority that Jesus exercises in his judgment such that attempting to rearticulate what the speech says about judgment would most likely either diminish the role of one or appear to express some kind of identity between God and Jesus.

4.4 Acts 10:42 and Messianic Identity

The preceding section has shown significant christological implications for the presentation of Jesus' role as judge in Peter's speech in Acts 10:34–43. Another point of christology also emerges prominently from a consideration of his role as judge in the speech, specifically, the relationship of his activity as judge and his messianic identity. Insofar as the judgment of figures called "messiah" in other texts differs from the ultimate judgment that appears to belong to God alone (although the *Similitudes of Enoch* is less clear on this distinction), this may initially seem to cut against the previous point that Jesus' judgment suggests divine authority. Such an opposition between the two points, however, does not necessarily follow. Luke-Acts may differ from other texts in its messianic concept with regard to the limits in their judgment activity so as to present Jesus' judgment as both suggesting divine authority and indicating messianic identity.

Luke-Acts portrays Jesus as the messiah and as a judge. Direct statements that he is the messiah and the direct statement of his role as judge in 10:42 make this clear. The relationship of his identity as messiah and his role as judge in Acts 10:34–43, with the rest of Luke-Acts, however, needs further consideration. With the context of future judgment figures called "messiah" in other texts, the scope of Jesus' judgment, and the function of the statement that he is a judge in the speech as the content of the apostolic message, Jesus' judgment in Acts 10:34–43 appears to be his activity as messiah and thus to indicate his messianic identity. The arguments in support of this point are cumulative and need not suggest that unique future judgment activity always indicates messianic identity in Jewish

texts contemporary with Acts nor that all messianic figures in these texts judge. In the case of Luke-Acts, however, Jesus judges as the messiah, even as the nature of his judgment is such as to also suggest divine authority. The points below support his judgment as messianic activity in the speech.

4.4.1 Other Messianic Figures Appear as Unique Judges

In the texts considered, the scriptural text most often cited in connection with judgment by a messianic figure is Isaiah 11:1–5, sometimes in combination with Psalm 2, Daniel 7, or other texts. Whatever diversity may have existed in Jewish messianism contemporary with Acts, the conception of a messianic figure as judge appears to have been widespread and one with which many would have been familiar. Although judgment is not clear in the case of priestly messianic figures in Qumran literature, no other messianic figure is demonstrably not a judge. This does not mean that judging itself indicates messianic identity. Attributing to a Jewish human, particularly one descended from David, a unique future judgment role, however, is at least compatible with messianic identity and could suggest such identity.

4.4.2 The Scope of Jesus' Judgment Suggests Judgment Unique to the Messiah

The designation of Jesus as a judge in Acts 10:42 is singular and attributes a unique function to him. He is not merely one judge among others. Rather, he is singularly *the* one appointed to this role. His role is one of administering comprehensive judgment, extending to all peoples and even to all times by including both the living and the dead. If a messiah would be the greatest final judge aside from God himself, as in some of the other texts considered, the description of Jesus in 10:42 could point to messianic identity through saying he judges with a judgment that no one else could exceed. The declaration in 10:42 is one of identity: Jesus is ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. This designation appears to

assume that an audience would understand the idea of one individual divinely appointed to this role. For Jesus to be ὁ ὠρισμένος, logically either no other such judges exist (and if the messiah is such as judge, Jesus is the messiah), no others hold this role legitimately, or others legitimately hold this role by a means other than divine appointment. William Horbury also views this designation of Jesus as judge to express that he is the messiah, although without discussion.⁴¹

4.4.3 Jesus' Role as Judge Is the Content of the Apostolic Message

The narration of Jesus' life in Peter's speech leads to the final action of Jesus' command to his witnesses in 10:42: καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν κηρύττειν τῷ λαῷ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι. The statement, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, is the content of their preaching and testimony. As anticipated in Jesus' commission of witnesses in Luke 24:46–48, recalled in Acts 1:8, apostolic testimony in Acts concerns Jesus as the messiah and forgiveness in his name. Here Jesus says what was written in the Scriptures about τὸν χριστόν, but by calling his hearers witnesses, he claims that what has happened to him in his suffering and resurrection are the things that have happened to the messiah. If this is the content of witness, how can Jesus as the one who is appointed uniquely as judge in Acts 10:42 express the content of apostolic witness? It expresses the content of this witness because to say that Jesus is uniquely appointed to this role as judge is to identify him as the messiah.

The summaries of testimony in Acts repeatedly present the content of testimony to be the identity of Jesus as the messiah. After the Sanhedrin tells them not to speak in the name

⁴¹ William Horbury, *Jewish Monotheism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1998), 2: "The association of resurrection and messiahship at Acts 2.36 (compare 10.40–42, 13.33) and Rom. 1.3–4 has been widely taken to show that the resurrection made Jesus the messiah, although it is also likely that belief in the resurrection confirmed views of Jesus as messiah held before his death," also 46.

of Jesus, the apostles nevertheless οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν in 5:42. When Philip goes to Samaria, ἐκήρυσσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν (8:5). Acts 9 demonstrates the change in Paul from his Damascus encounter with Jesus by saying that εὐθέως ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in verse 20, repeating in verse 22, συνέχυνεν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντος ἐν Δαμασκῷ συμβιβάζων ὅτι οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. The content of Paul's teaching in the synagogue in Thessalonica in 17:3 is ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. When Silas and Timothy arrive in Corinth in 18:5, συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ ὁ Παῦλος διαμαρτυρόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. This summary is particularly significant for interpreting τὸν λόγον in 10:36 since the way in which Paul is devoted τῷ λόγῳ is through giving testimony to the messianic identity of Jesus. Apollos joins in 18:28, ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

Although Acts contains speeches with various functions, speeches leading up to Acts 10 affirm the identity of Jesus as messiah as they present apostolic testimony. Peter's Pentecost speech concludes by his call in 2:36, ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γινωσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε. Peter says in 3:19 to repent so that God ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (3:20). In 4:10, Peter declares that the formerly lame man now stands whole ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου. Although not a speech, the prayer that follows when Peter and John leave the high priests and elders applies the gathering of kings and rulers κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ (4:26) in Psalm 2 to the opposition to τὸν ἅγιον παῖδα σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας, repeating the title of messiah from the psalm with a verb for Jesus' anointing.

If the statement οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν is not one of the messianic identity of Jesus, the use of this statement in Acts 10:42 as a summary of

apostolic testimony at this point in Luke-Acts should cause surprise in its audience. *Apostolic Constitutions* 5.20.4 may also reflect this understanding of a link between Jesus' judgment in Acts 10:42 and proclamation of him as *χριστός*: ἐκηρύξαμεν Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν, αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ὠρισμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κριτὴν ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.

4.4.4 The Concept of Appointment Associates Jesus' Judgment with Messianic Identity

Acts 10:42 speaks of Jesus as appointed, *ὠρισμένος*, by God to his role as judge, as 17:31 later speaks of Jesus as a man whom God appointed, *ὥρισεν*, and in whom he will judge the world. Luke-Acts nowhere else uses this exact language of appointment for Jesus, but throughout it reflects an understanding of divine appointment inseparable from Jesus' messianic identity.

From the beginning of Luke, whether in the announcement to the shepherds in 2:11 or the Holy Spirit's revelation to Simeon in 2:26, Jesus appears as *χριστός*. Explaining *χριστός* as void of a concept of anointing reflective of appointment is inadequate because of the manner in which Luke introduces the title and the narrative progression of Luke and of Acts. The following discussion, while not covering divine appointment throughout all of Luke-Acts, focuses first on the baptism of Jesus in Luke, which Acts 10:37 locates at the beginning of τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα that the speech narrates. The discussion then considers a selection of other passages in Luke and Acts. What becomes evident is that when the concept of appointment of Jesus appears, Luke-Acts repeatedly ties it to his identity as messiah.

4.4.4.1 Jesus' Baptism

The idea of appointment first occurs in Luke-Acts in Gabriel's announcement to Mary. In 1:32, he says of Jesus, οὗτος ἔσται μέγας καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. The following verse speaks of the perpetuity of his reign and his kingdom. God's giving of David's throne to Jesus is indicative of an

appointment of Jesus, the “bestowed authority from God.”⁴² This verse associates his appointment both with descent from David and designation as son of God. The word *χριστός* has not appeared yet in Luke. When it does in 2:11, where the angel calls Jesus *σωτὴρ ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς κύριος* when speaking to the shepherds, the threefold repetition of David’s name in 2:4, 11, following from the previous statement of Jesus’ appointment to David’s throne in 1:32, ties designation of Jesus as *χριστός* to his davidic descent.

Is Jesus actually anointed, though, or merely called *χριστός*, and is the Lukan understanding of anointing related to appointment in a way that could inform a later mention of judgment in Acts? The episode of Jesus’ baptism that follows in Luke 3 begins to more clearly tie Jesus’ activity as judge to who he is as *χριστός*. The question leading into Jesus’ baptism is one of who is the messiah. Some ponder in 3:15 about John, *μήποτε αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ χριστός*. John responds by telling of the coming one who will baptize in the Holy Spirit and fire. As Richard Bauckham notes, John alludes through the imagery of the axe prepared to cut down trees in judgment to Isaiah 10:34, reflecting a messianic interpretation of the verse also found in *4QIsaiah Pesher^a* (4Q161) frags. 8–10, lines 2–9 and *2 Baruch* 36–40.⁴³ The topic of judgment is thus prominent leading into Jesus’ baptism in Luke 3.⁴⁴ When we come to Jesus’ baptism in Luke 3:21–22, although it does not contain any terms meaning “appointment,” it combines three ideas related to appointment, and specifically appointment of the messiah: (1)

⁴² Darrell L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lukan Old Testament Christology*, JSNTSup 12 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 63.

⁴³ Richard Bauckham, “The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10:34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch and the Preaching of John the Baptist,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 210–14.

⁴⁴ G.O. Williams, “The Baptism in Luke’s Gospel,” *JTS* 45 (1944): 34 states on the one greater than John, “whereas the identity of this successor is not quite clear in Mark and Q, where he may be God himself coming in judgement, Luke has effectively identified him with Jesus by prefixing iii. 15.” Jesus as the one coming to judge and God’s coming in judgment need not be entirely distinguished from each other, and this association may reflect the same idea of God’s coming for judgment occurring through Jesus’ coming in judgment, on which see §5.4.2 on the use of Ps 96 in Acts 17.

anointing with the Spirit, (2) declaration of filial relationship, and (3) declaration of God's pleasure. Each of these alludes to different scriptural passages with their associated ideas.

First, the allusion to Isaiah 10:34 that has just preceded prepares the audience, if familiar with Isaiah, to hear *וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה* from Isaiah 11:2 in the descent of the Spirit on Jesus in Luke 3:22.⁴⁵ As already noted, Isaiah 11 continues by speaking of a davidic figure anointed by the Spirit and administering judgment, and it is one of the principal texts in contemporary pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature used to speak of the judgment performed by the messiah when he is presented as an eschatological judge.

Second and third, the declaration of filial relationship alludes to Psalm 2:7 and the final phrase of Luke 3:22, *ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα*, alludes to Isaiah 42:1. Both of these allusions are generally acknowledged.⁴⁶ That Luke understands Psalm 2 christologically is clear from the

⁴⁵ Few writers mention the possibility of the use of Isa 11:1, instead associating the Spirit's descent on Jesus with Isa 42:1 because of *ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα* in 3:22. François Bovon, *L'évangile selon Saint Luc (1,1–9,50)*, CNT 3a (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1991), 176 entertains the possibility of the use of Isa 11 but is uncertain. He does not note the preceding allusion to Isa 10:34. Early association of Isa 11:2 with Jesus' baptism appears in Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah* 4.13, which quotes John 1:32–33 and an account of Jesus' baptism he attributes to the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* along with the quotation of Isa 42:1 in Matt 12:18. Stephen Gero, "The Spirit as a Dove at the Baptism of Jesus," *NovT* 18 (1976): 22n8 notes as possible that reading *בִּינָה* in Isa 11:2 as "with a dove" resulted in the description of the dove at Jesus' baptism. He does not think this possibility is demonstrable, however, and does not find any other support for the reading of Isa 11:2 in this way. As Gero notes, Edwin A. Abbott, *From Letter to Spirit: An Attempt to Reach through Varying Voices the Abiding Word*, Diatessarica 3 (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1903), 114–115 earlier proposed confusion of *יִנְיָה* and *יִנְיָה*. Abbott's proposal concerns the appearance of the dove in accounts of Jesus' baptism generally rather than specifically Luke 3. Gero cites Abbott's proposal as most plausible among suggested scribal errors or errors in translation resulting in *περιστερα* in Jesus' baptism but not as good as his own, but Abbott provides more support for his proposal by pointing out where texts about Jesus' baptism, including after the New Testament, tend to either mention the dove or the Spirit resting on Jesus.

⁴⁶ E.g., Bovon, *L'évangile selon Saint Luc (1,1–9,50)*, 176–78; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, new updated ed., ABRL (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1993), 137; F. Gerald Downing, "Psalms and the Baptist," *JSNT* 29 (2006): 132; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 186–87; Klein, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 171; Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 69–70 (although he seems uncertain about Luke 42:1 since it differs from the Greek form); Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 171 (Wolter also views *ὁ ἀγαπητός* as from Isa 44:2). D, the Old Italian, and some patristic witnesses replace this phrase with further quotation of Ps 2:7, obscuring the use of Isa 42:1. See Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*, 99–104 for description of further views of which scriptural texts this scene uses. Bock himself views it as using Ps 2:7; Isa 41:8; and 42:1, but his assessment of Isa 42:1 as relating only to Jesus as servant at his baptism and not to the anointing with the Spirit because the heavenly voice does not say anything about the anointing is a simplistic account of

quotations in Acts 4:25–26 and 13:33. Again, texts speaking of the messiah as a future judge commonly associate Psalm 2 with judgment. The third text, Isaiah 42:1, does not specifically describe punitive judgment as do Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2. It presents the servant as serving a judicial role, however, by the threefold repetition of *משפט* (*κρίσις*) in 42:1, 3, and 4. The Spirit's descent on Jesus may thus simultaneously allude to *נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו* in Isaiah 42:1 and to Isaiah 11. The linking of these texts is natural since Isaiah 42 itself uses Isaiah 11, taking from it an individual who is pleasing to Yahweh, on whom will be his Spirit, and who will administer justice at an international scale.

Use of Isaiah 10:34 with 11:2 and use of Isaiah 42:1 in the same passage are not mutually exclusive, nor is the possibility of a dual allusion overly subtle. The concern in the form of the baptism passage in Luke 3 may be less to allude to a single passage than to allude to the compound idea of the anointing of an individual figure in Isaiah, a royal judge in Isaiah 11 and chosen servant who administers justice in Isaiah 42. That the passage already shows the influence of more than one scriptural text is clear from its use of the phrase from Psalm 2:7. The cognitive cumulation of scriptural texts influencing the audience's encounter with the Lukan account allows viewing the Spirit on Jesus in Luke to reflect ideas from each of these texts in a polyvalent manner. Luke 4:18–19 further expands the polyvalency of Jesus' anointing with the Spirit in Luke by quoting Isaiah 61.⁴⁷

Thus, from the beginning of Luke's presentation of Jesus as appointed by God, he is anointed in such a way as to combine three texts used elsewhere in contemporary Jewish

literary use of previous texts and influence from previous texts. Bock does not mention the possible influence of Isa 11:1.

⁴⁷ See Jesper Tang Nielsen, "The Lamb of God: The Cognitive Structure of a Johannine Metaphor," in *Imagery in the Gospel of John: Terms, Forms, Themes, and Theology of Johannine Figurative Language*, ed. Jörg Frey, Jan G. van der Watt, and Ruben Zimmermann in collaboration with Gabi Kern, WUNT 200 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 217–56 for theoretical explanation of similar polyvalency in metaphors from a cognitive semantics perspective.

literature to speak of judgment by the messiah, and his appointment relates to the task of judging at an international scale. Jesus' application of Isaiah 61:1–2 to himself in his Nazareth sermon in Luke 4:18–19, shortly following his baptism, expands the fulfilling significance of Jesus' anointing with the Spirit by explicitly linking it to another passage. This serves to emphasize the release that Jesus brings. In all of the passages from Isaiah (Isa 11, 42, and 61), those whom the figure's judgment helps are the poor and downtrodden (note particularly the shared words between Isa 11 and 61). This quotation speaks of how God has anointed (ἐχρίσεν, following from Jesus designation as χριστός in Luke 2:11, 26; 3:15) Jesus to his task, including his activity in judgment. The quotation, through its place in Luke, further defines what Jesus' anointing means and what his mission will be: “for Luke the occasion of Jesus' baptism is manifestly his anointing for divine service. This is the interpretation given by Jesus in 4:18–19 and repeated by Peter in Acts 10:37–38.”⁴⁸ In summary, Jesus' appointment, from the beginning of Luke, is an appointment as messiah and includes his activity as judge. William Horbury also understands the designation of Jesus as “chosen” in Luke 23:35 to correspond to Acts 10:42 and to designate Jesus as messiah.⁴⁹

4.4.4.2 *Selected Other Passages*

This link between (1) choice, selection, anointing, or assignment for a particular task, which express a concept of appointment, and (2) Jesus' identity as messiah appears repeatedly in Luke-Acts. Consideration of a few examples follows. In Luke 20:41–44, Jesus quotes Psalm 110, applying it to the messiah when it speaks of the Lord placing the Lord at his right hand. Not only are enemies subjected to this Lord, verse 6 says of him, יָדִין בְּגוֹיִם, making his activity as judge explicit. When Psalm 110 appears again in Peter's Pentecost

⁴⁸ Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 186.

⁴⁹ Horbury, *Jewish Monotheism and the Cult of Christ*, 46; this could also be applied to Luke 9:35.

speech, he uses it to explain the outpouring of the Spirit leading to Peter's conclusion that Jesus is the messiah in 2:36. Looking backwards in Luke-Acts, the previous use of Psalm 110 may inform this speech by presenting Jesus as anointed and appointed. Horbury notes that the series of passages in Luke-Acts and the texts to which they allude may combine in the understanding of Jesus' anointing, including in Acts 10:38:

The speech in Acts including this phrase ["lord and Christ"] begins from the outpouring of the spirit on the disciples, and the messiah is perhaps envisaged as characteristically and pre-eminently endued with the spirit (Isa. 11.2–4), and, so endued, as the anointed comforter of the afflicted with the oil of joy (Isa. 61.1–4); this would be consistent with the depiction of Jesus in Luke 3.22; 4.1 (endued with spirit); 4.17–19 (quoting Isa. 61.1–2); Acts 10.38 (anointed with the holy spirit and power; in a speech leading to another outpouring of the spirit).⁵⁰

Continuing in Acts, Peter speaks in Acts 3:20 of Jesus as τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. When the believers pray in Acts 4, they follow their quotation of Psalm 2:1–2 by designating Jesus as τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας in 4:27. The term ἔχρισας continues τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ from the quotation in the previous verse. Again, the scriptural passage quoted concerns a figure who judges and is used traditionally to speak of the messiah as an eschatological judgment figure. Although the object of the verb is not Jesus, the use of προώρισεν in the continuation of the prayer in Acts 4:27 to speak of what God determined, or “pre-appointed,” to occur is notable. In 5:31, albeit without a word for “appointment,” Peter and the apostles speak of God placing Jesus in a unique position for a particular task in that God exalts Jesus to his right hand as ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα to give repentance and forgiveness of sins to Israel. In Luke 24:47, these are the very things, repentance and forgiveness, that would be preached in the name of the messiah, and forgiveness is a positive outcome of judgment. When Jesus is appointed by God as judge of the living and the dead in Acts 10:42 and those who believe in him receive forgiveness of sins in 10:43, to separate his divine

⁵⁰ Horbury, *Jewish Monotheism and the Cult of Christ*, 143.

appointment from his identity as messiah would require greater clarification than the speech offers. The natural understanding is that this appointment of Jesus (who has already been designated as the messiah and as anointed in 10:36 and 38) as judge expresses his identity as messiah.

Given the above, a clear separation between Jesus' identity as messiah and his appointment as judge is not possible in Luke-Acts, including in Peter's speech in Acts 10:34–43. Jesus is a unique future judge, as future judgment figures that other texts designate as the messiah are unique future judges, even if Jesus' judgment exceeds theirs in scope. His role as judge of the living and the dead appears as the content of apostolic proclamation while the center of the content of proclamation in Luke-Acts is consistently Jesus' identity as the messiah. While the particular language of appointment in 10:42 does not appear earlier in Luke-Acts, the concept of appointment has previously appeared as one of appointment of Jesus as the messiah, and as a messiah who judges. The affirmation of Jesus as appointed by God as judge in 10:42 thus functions to affirm his identity as the messiah.

4.5 Excursus: Jesus as πάντων κύριος in 10:36

The three parallels framing Peter's speech have already been mentioned. The innermost of these parallels is that of the sending of the message concerning Jesus, expressed in 10:36 as οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος and in 10:42 by the statement of Jesus' role as judge. Some consider Jesus' judgment in 10:42 to express how Jesus is πάντων κύριος in 10:36.⁵¹ Since many view οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος in 10:36 as a parenthetical statement, however, and so perhaps less obviously functioning like οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν in 10:42 as an emphatic statement about Jesus that expresses the apostolic

⁵¹ E.g., Bock, *Acts*, 400; Marguerat, *Les actes des apôtres (1–12)*, 395; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 193; Schnabel, *Acts*, 504; and Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 141. Keener, *Acts*, vol. 2: 3:1–14:28, 1807 also seems to reflect this view.

message about him, some comments about the phrase in 10:36 are in order. What will emerge is that this statement, while not mentioning judgment, may indicate messianic identity in a manner similar to the statement in 10:42 while, like it, speaking of Jesus in a way that other texts speak of God.

Both a textual problem, namely the inclusion or omission of ὃν after λόγον, and syntax complicate the interpretation of 10:36. The syntax I propose for 10:36 allows for either the presence or absence of the relative pronoun, so I will not discuss the textual problem further. With regard to the syntax of 10:36, grammatical features of 10:36–37 and the surrounding context in the speech favour understanding τὸν λόγον either as the direct object of ἀπέστειλεν without ὃν or as an accusative of respect with it. The statement οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος is in apposition to τὸν λόγον to specify its content. The antecedent of οὗτός is the immediately preceding Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The following is therefore an appropriate translation of the verse: “The word which he sent to the sons of Israel, bringing good news of peace through Jesus Christ: he is lord of all.”⁵² Verse 37 begins a new sentence in which τὸ γινόμενον ῥῆμα is the direct object of οἶδατε. This interpretation contrasts with the common view that οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος is a parenthetical statement.⁵³ F.F. Bruce also considers the phrase

⁵² Or, without ὃν, “He sent the word to the sons of Israel, bringing good news of peace through Jesus Christ: he is lord of all.”

⁵³ E.g., Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 521–22; Lake and Cadbury, *English Translation and Commentary*, 120; Pervo, *Acts*, 279; and Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1:342 (without defense). A few other interpreters understand 10:36 in the way I have proposed or in a similar manner, although without detailed support: Christoph Burchard, “A Note of ῥῆμα in Josas 17:1 f.; Luke 2:15, 17; Acts 10:37,” *NovT* 27 (1985): 292–93 (see Burchard for further references on the accusative of respect); Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, 2:139–40; and Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 356–57. Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 64 also reflects it in his translation. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 310, 310n174, although he does not precisely explain the syntactical function of οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος, seems to understand the syntax of 10:36 similarly. He views the relative pronoun, however, as a later addition to make it smoother and understands τὸν λόγον “als seine Art Überschrift” rather than in apposition to the statement about Jesus at the end of the verse. Note also Ulrich Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und traditionsgehistorische Untersuchungen*, 2nd ed., WMANT 5 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1963), 170–171 on 10:36 and Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς κύριος as a summary of the content of faith.

parenthetical, but he makes it refer to God as the subject of ἀπέστειλεν.⁵⁴ My interpretation also contrasts with the view of C. Kavin Rowe that both τὸν λόγον in 10:36 and τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα in 10:37 are objects of οἶδατε,⁵⁵ and that of François Bovon that τὸν λόγον is an object of καταλαμβάνομαι in 10:34 in apposition to the ὅτι clause.⁵⁶

Several arguments support the interpretation of the syntax I propose here. (1) The statement is decidedly emphatic and does not use a relative pronoun (ὃς ἐστὶν πάντων κύριος), as Rowe also notes.⁵⁷ Rowe, although understanding λόγον and ῥῆμα as in apposition, argues against parenthetical interpretation of the phrase. Noting 2:36, he comments, “taken seriously, οὗτος excludes the idea that the sentence is parenthetical in importance and instead points to the dramatic nature of Peter’s claim: Jesus Christ, this one, is the κύριος πάντων.”⁵⁸ While I agree with Rowe on this point, his argument is not entirely conclusive against the phrase being grammatically parenthetical since a copulative parenthetical clause could begin with οὗτος for emphasis or contrast, as in Luke 23:51. (2) Interpretation of λόγον and ῥῆμα as in apposition posits awkward placement of direct objects in apposition on opposite sides of their verb. Jervell evaluates this view in response to Pesch by saying, “dann aber wird die Dublette zu τὸ ῥῆμα sehr krass.”⁵⁹ (3) Perhaps most significantly, ὁ λόγος functions as a shorthand for the message transmitted in apostolic testimony in Acts, that which God may send through the preaching of Jesus (as discussed further below), while ῥῆμα does not.

⁵⁴ Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 225.

⁵⁵ Rowe, “Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult,” 290.

⁵⁶ Bovon, *L’évangile selon Saint Luc (1,1–9,50)*, 391.

⁵⁷ Rowe, “Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult,” 291.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 291, 291n43.

⁵⁹ Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 310n176.

With this syntax, how does the clause οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος relate to Jesus' messianic identity? First, in the construal of the syntax I have proposed, it functions as a statement of the content of τὸν λόγον, which in 10:36 refers to the content of the apostolic message. As argued above, the apostolic message throughout Luke-Acts is of Jesus' identity as the messiah. This does not fully equate the statement οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος with οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, but it does suggest that the position and authority that Jesus holds as messiah is such that he is πάντων κύριος, as the parallel phrase in 10:42 also indicates his identity as messiah.

ὁ λόγος throughout Acts refers to the apostolic message unless clearly qualified to refer to something else. In any arrangement of the syntax of 10:36, τὸν λόγον was sent (ἀπέστειλεν) by God, and that by sending it he brought news of peace εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην. The singular articular λόγος immediately preceded by the article occurs forty-four times in Acts. In only six instances does it clearly refer to something other than witness about Jesus: 6:5; 7:29; 8:21; 11:22; 15:6; and 20:38. In each of these cases, an accompanying qualification clarifies the referent of ὁ λόγος.

Leaving 10:36 aside, in thirty-four of the remaining thirty-eight occurrences, ὁ λόγος clearly refers to the content of witness about Jesus. Thus we read of ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in 4:31; 6:2, 7; 8:14; 11:1; 13:5, 7, 46; 17:13; and 18:11, of ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου in 8:25; 13:44, 48, 49; 15:35, 36; 16:32; and 19:10, of ὁ λόγος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ in 14:3 and 20:32 (with ὁ κύριος as the antecedent of αὐτός in the former and ὁ θεός as the antecedent in the latter), of ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης in 13:26, and of ὁ λόγος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου in 15:7. The use of ὁ λόγος in one of these phrases accounts for twenty-two occurrences. In two additional instances, it occurs with a modifying pronoun. In 2:41, which reports that those who received τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ were baptized, the pronoun refers to Peter after his Pentecost speech. In 4:29, those praying ask to

speak τὸν λόγον σου with all boldness. In the remaining ten of the thirty-four (2:41; 4:4, 29; 6:4; 8:4; 10:44; 11:19; 14:25; 16:6; 17:11; 18:5; 19:20), it appears without any modifier as ὁ λόγος, as in 10:36. These ten occurrences provide specific support for ὁ λόγος in 10:36 also referring to the message about Jesus.

Thus, in 4:4, many of those who heard τὸν λόγον believed. In 6:4, the apostles state that they will devote themselves to prayer and τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου. After the scattering of the Jerusalem church following Stephen's martyrdom, 8:4 says that those scattered διῃλθον εὐαγγελίζόμενοι τὸν λόγον. This instance is particularly notable since it uses εὐαγγελίζομαι, as does 10:36, albeit in a different syntactical relationship to ὁ λόγος. In the same context, 10:44 says that the Holy Spirit fell upon all who heard τὸν λόγον. Acts 11:19 mentions those scattered as a result of the persecution associated with Stephen μηδενὶ λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον εἰ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις. Paul and Barnabas speak τὸν λόγον in Perga in 14:25. In 16:6, the Holy Spirit prevents speaking τὸν λόγον in Asia. The Bereans receive τὸν λόγον in 17:11. In 18:5, Paul is occupied with τῷ λόγῳ in Corinth, διαμαρτυρόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Finally, in 19:20, ὁ λόγος grows and becomes strong.

Aside from 10:36, this leaves three instances of ὁ λόγος in Acts that are less clear: those in 14:12; 20:7; and 22:22. ὁ λόγος appears without modifiers in the first two cases. When the people in Lystra begin to identify Barnabas and Paul with deities, they call Paul Hermes in 14:12 ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου. ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου may designate Paul generally as the principal speaker. Since, however, Paul speaks in 14:8 and the content of his speaking is such that the lame man listening ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι in 14:9, ὁ λόγος could designate the apostolic message about Jesus that Paul delivers. The phrase ὁ λόγος again refers to Paul's speaking in 20:7. Whether the term refers in particular to Paul's proclamation of the Christian message in his extended late-night sermon or merely refers to

his act of speaking generally is difficult to determine. In 22:22, a demonstrative pronoun accompanies τοῦ λόγου, but it still refers back to what Paul has just said about going to give testimony to the Gentiles. Finally, returning to the Cornelius episode, 11:1 describes the preceding events in chapter 10 by saying that τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.

Second, οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος attributes to Jesus the authority attributed to the emperor, and thus suggests that he is another king besides the emperor. Insofar as Luke-Acts emphasizes Jesus as a messiah of royal heritage by his davidic ancestry, as discussed above, Jesus appears as the messiah who is a king: καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος (Luke 1:33). Acts 17:7 presents hearers of Paul and Silas in Thessalonica as understanding their message to include Jesus as a king, and in a way that conflicts with the emperor's claims. Rowe cites the statement of Jesus' comprehensive lordship in 10:36 as presenting him singularly as lord in contrast to other claims of comprehensive lordship, citing examples of similar phrases for Domitian, Nero, and Trajan.⁶⁰ Just as Jesus is the messiah by being the final comprehensive judge since the messiah would be a greater judge than anyone besides God, so calling him the lord of all expresses he is the messiah. Jesus, as a king who is lord of all, is greater than any other king who might claim this role since the messiah in Luke-Acts is the greatest and final king.

At the same time, πάντων κύριος, like κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, within a Jewish scriptural context, describes Jesus with a position and authority beyond the language that appears in the other texts considered for future judgment figures, including those called messiahs. Gaventa notes the similar epithets for God in Joshua 3:11, 13; Psalm 97:5;

⁶⁰ Rowe, "Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult," 292–93. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.118 provides an example for Augustus that Rowe does not mention, although it uses δεσπότης rather than κύριος. Also note the illegitimate honoring of Antipater in *J. W.* 1.207. The expression in Josephus, *Ant.* 16.134, where it appears for Herod, is similar, but the scope is clearly limited to Herod's dominion before it passed to his sons.

Zechariah 6:5; Wisdom 6:7; and 8:3.⁶¹ Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.20, 72, 272 provides further examples, although, like Wisdom 6:7 and 8:3, they use *δεσποτής* rather than *κύριος*. The God of Israel holds comprehensive lordship. This is not a usual way to refer to other Jewish rulers or other figures.⁶² Josephus, *Antiquities* 7.151 uses a similar, qualified expression of David, but one limited to his lordship over the surrounding nations. Within this context, and in light of the correspondence between Acts 10:34–43 and Deuteronomy 10:17–20 relating *πάντων κύριος* to *אֲדֹנֵי הָאָדָמִים*, the statement *οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος* in Acts 10:36 may also both indicate messianic identity and suggest divine authority.

4.6 The Nature of Jesus in Acts 10:34–43

In view of the preceding discussion of the speech in Acts 10:34–43 presenting Jesus as having both divine authority and messianic identity, some comments concerning his nature in the speech may follow. In the consideration of pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature in the previous chapters, with the possible exception of Melchizedek in 11QMelch (a possibility I indicated I think unlikely), eschatological judgment figures were human in nature, although at times they exceeded ordinary humans in some of their characteristics. Their activity in judgment, however, distinguished them from God, who appeared as the ultimate and final judge in contrast to them. As noted before, the son of man figure in the Similitudes of Enoch appears to overlap with God in his judgment activity, but when this text presents God's final judgment at the time of the resurrection, the role of this figure was not clear. The presentation of Jesus in Acts 10:34–43 presents a greater level of tension to the question of nature than the other texts. Although he is clearly human, the speech's presentation focuses on Jesus

⁶¹ Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 170–71.

⁶² The analogy in Gal 4:1 is not an exception because its scope is limited to the rule of an heir within his own household.

expressing the impartiality and forgiveness of God in his judgment. This judgment appears to be the final judgment elsewhere associated with God alone.

Jesus is clearly human, not only when considering Luke-Acts as a whole, but even when considering only features of this speech. First, Jesus is mortal, experiencing death and life. He clearly dies through physically being hung on a cross in 10:39, and God raises him to life in 10:40. In 10:41, Peter affirms Jesus' death and resurrection again by saying τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Second, the speech specifically notes Jesus' eating and drinking in 10:41, where Peter describes witnesses to Jesus as οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Luke earlier uses the activity of eating to emphasize the genuine physicality associated with humanity in 24:41–43, where after the resurrection Jesus eats in front of his disciples to demonstrate that he has truly risen from death and that he is not a πνεῦμα (Luke 24:37, 39).⁶³ Third, Peter appeals to the knowledge of Cornelius and those with him of a man's recent local activities. Although Peter does not explicitly state Jesus' human nature by doing so, if Jesus were not human, he would have needed to state so after his appeal to their knowledge in 10:37–38. Cornelius and those with him know about the man Jesus, even if they do not know the full significance of who he is as Peter now explains it to them in this speech.

The manner in which the speech presents Jesus in his judgment differs from the manner in which other texts considered describe their figures as having characteristics beyond ordinary humans, such as through suggesting pre-existence, extraordinary lifespans, or hidden existence with God prior to eschatological appearance. This speech, by contrast, speaks of Jesus, although he is clearly human, in terms of the position and activity of God.

⁶³ The emphasis on eating with Jesus repeats in Acts 1:4 (taking συναλιζόμενος as meaning to eat together) before 10:41. This is not to say that eating by itself indicates a human nature, but in Luke 24:41–43, the emphasis in Jesus eating is that he has the genuine physicality of a human.

The fluidity in the way that Acts 10:34–43 speaks of Jesus and God in judgment continues in early reception of 10:42. A few examples may suffice. While the phrase *κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν* usually refers to Jesus in texts after Acts, an early use of the phrase in 2 *Clement* 1:1 is ambiguous: Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. The final phrase, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, may be part of an instruction to think of Jesus as judge in recognition that he is the judge of the living and the dead. Alternatively, it may parallel ὡς περὶ θεοῦ as another way of saying to think concerning Jesus as concerning God. Although the use of ὡς in distinction to οὕτως earlier in the sentence may make a third possible way of reading the phrase less likely, the two phrases beginning ὡς could also relate to each other as “as . . . so . . .” such that Jesus is the judge of whom the audience should think as God. These possibilities may not be mutually exclusive. Again, in *Acts of Thomas* 30, Thomas appears to refer to Jesus, who directs Thomas throughout his quests, by using the phrase from Acts 10:42 in prayer, but he also uses the address *πάτερ*. The reason the ambiguity, or fluidity, appears in these texts, whether compositionally intentional or not, may be the fluidity in the presentation of judgment in the text they use, Acts 10:34–43.

4.7 Conclusion

Given the above, unless we posit that the content of apostolic testimony changes suddenly in Acts 10:34–43, which is a speech that clearly reflects a messianic understanding of Jesus’ role by calling him *χριστός* and speaking of his anointing, the statement of Jesus’ judicial role in Acts 10:42 is a statement of singular messianic identity. It identifies Jesus singularly and definitely as the one appointed by God. It says that the identity of Jesus as this one is the subject of apostolic proclamation and testimony. To say οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ κενρῶν is to say οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός. At the same time, 10:42

attributes to Jesus what God alone does in the extent of his judgment. The speech also switches between God and Jesus when it speaks of forgiveness, judgment, human response, and commissioning of witness. The speech's presentation of the impartiality of God and judgment of Jesus corresponds to how Deuteronomy depicts God as impartial and the only God and lord whom his people were to serve. By describing Jesus as the judge of the living and the dead, the speech expresses his messianic identity and suggests his divine authority in an unparalleled way.

CHAPTER 5: JESUS' JUDGMENT IN ACTS 17:31

5.1 Introduction

Second to Peter's speech in Acts 10:34–43, Paul's address in Athens in Acts 17:22–31 contains the most direct statement of Jesus' judgment activity in the Acts speeches. Like the former, the Areopagus speech does not allow a clear distinction between Jesus' judgment and that of God. The Areopagus speech's appropriation of a conventional pattern of Jewish polemic and its use of scripture further associate divine authority with Jesus' judgment. At the same time, the narrative placement of the speech and the manner in which the speech expresses Jesus' appointment for judgment show this speech to continue the proclamation of Jesus' identity as the messiah in Acts. Like Acts 10:34–43, therefore, Acts 17:22–31 presents Jesus' role as judge as indicating both divine authority and messianic identity.

5.2 Previous Approaches

The conclusions stated above do not follow usual interpretations of the Areopagus speech. Studies of the Areopagus speech often recognize two interpretative approaches. One views the speech, except for 17:30–31, as largely reflecting Greek philosophical thought, particularly Stoicism, showing commonality between Christianity and Greek philosophy or commending the best of Greek thought. The other understands elements throughout the speech as critical of its audience after the manner of Jewish polemic toward idolatry and foreign deities.¹

Eduard Norden's *Agnostos Theos* with Martin Dibelius' 1939 essay "Paul on the Areopagus" often serve as representatives of the former approach as Bertil Gärtner's *The*

¹ Mark D. Given, "Not Either/Or but Both/And in Paul's Areopagus Speech," *BibInt* 3 (1995): 363–69 offers a combined approach by distinguishing between the implied reader, or "narratees," and the audience of the speech in the narrative, proposing that the audience of the book should understand the deliberately ambiguous expression as critical of the narrative audience while the narrative audience accepts much of the speech as commendatory.

Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation does for the latter.² Norden and works taking the former approach often view the speech as appropriating elements of Stoicism in a manner like other Hellenistic Jewish literature.³ Dibelius, however, more sharply emphasizes Stoic content in the speech in contrast to Jewish thought or even other Christian thought in New Testament literature. Assuming the speeches in Acts serve the purpose of providing examples to their readers for their own Christian proclamation, Dibelius concludes that the author of Acts composed the speech as an example of how to speak to Gentile audiences, resulting in content “alien” to the rest of Acts and the New Testament.⁴ He says of the theme of God’s relation to humans in 17:27–29, “not one sentence . . . accords with what we are accustomed to find elsewhere in the Old or New Testament,” excepting the resurrection and judgment in

² Eduard Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1913); Martin Dibelius, “Paul on the Areopagus,” in Martin Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling (London: SCM Press, 1956), 26–77 (acknowledging dependence on Norden on 26n2); Bertil Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, trans. Carolyn Hannay King, ASNU 21 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1955). Among those who cite these works as representative of two approaches are Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, KEK 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 444; Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 424–42, esp. 430n51; Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2 vols., HTKNT 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1982–1984), 2:243.

³ Norden does not consider the speech itself to express Stoic thought, but rather to contain phrases taken from Stoicism for the purpose of its polemic in a manner he considered common in Hellenistic Jewish literature. See esp. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 12, 46–55. This is part of Norden’s larger proposal that a second-century redactor shaped the Athens episode and its speech with Apollonius of Tyana as a model and inserted it into Acts. No significant recent works follow Norden’s proposal concerning Apollonius, but his emphasis on correspondence with Stoicism has continued in most subsequent scholarship. Adolf Harnack, *Ist die Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte?*, TUGAL 39.1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913), in responding to Norden that the Areopagus speech was part of the original composition of Acts, observes consistency of the thought of the speech with other parts of Luke-Acts. Harnack breaks the speech into nineteen main thoughts, seventeen of which he finds also in Luke-Acts or the LXX. For the remaining two, “Panentheismus” in 17:28 and “Göttliches γένος der Menschheit” in 17:28–29, he still cites LXX parallels to the language in the speech to argue for convergence between the language of Stoics and that of the LXX. For the former, he notes *κινεῖσθαι* in LXX Gen 7:14, 21; 8:17, 19; 9:2; Lev 11:44, 46; Dan 3:79; 4 Macc 14:6; and Wis 7:24, and for the latter God designating Israel as τὸ γένος μου in Isa 43:20, to which Isa 22:4 could also be added. See Harnack, *Ist die Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte?*, 24–25. In addition, he lists thirty stylistic elements, twenty-nine of which he finds characteristic of Luke-Acts and one of which (the threefold repetition of ἐν in 17:31) he says “verrät den orientalischen Griechen” (28–29, quotation from 29). Aside from whether 17:28 expresses panentheism (on which, see the discussion of ἐν below), his observations, if correct, would suggest that the speech’s content is not sharply foreign to the rest of the book nor strictly Greek in contrast to Jewish, while it may use Hellenistic Jewish means of expression. Harnack’s response has been largely overlooked in Anglophone scholarship.

⁴ Dibelius, “Paul on the Areopagus,” 57–73, esp. 70.

17:30–31 from his general evaluation of the speech as “the only specifically Christian ideas which are imparted to the hearers.”⁵ Those taking this approach to the speech, viewing it, aside from 17:30–31, as affirming or agreeable to its philosophical audience in the narrative, or largely expressing a form of Stoic thought, include David L. Balch, Hans Conzelmann, Jacques Dupont in his 1979 article on the speech, Luke Timothy Johnson, Werner Georg Kümmel, Richard I. Pervo, and Max Pohlenz.⁶

Taking the second interpretative approach to the speech, others propose that the Areopagus speech is more critical of its narrative audience and emphasize its appropriation of ideas from Jewish polemic against idolatry. Those taking this approach, along with Gärtner, include Dupont in his earlier articles, Christoph W. Stenschke, H. Armin Moellering, David

⁵ Ibid., 51–52, 56, quotes from 52 and 56. To an extent, Dibelius’ method predisposes him to these conclusions. He first treats the speech by itself, and his interpretative conclusions based on the speech in isolation dictate how he relates it to the rest of the book. Dibelius determines his own view concerning whether the speech reflects Jewish scriptural thought or Stoic thought from 17:26–27. The elements of these verses Dibelius sees as reflecting Stoic thought are human seeking of God that does not necessarily accomplish its goal and the providential determination of the seasons and the locations in which peoples will live, and humans as a single race inhabiting the world according to natural law. See 32–37. Some problems in Dibelius’ argumentation deserve note. First, none of the authors whom Dibelius cites in this section of his essay are Stoics in the strict sense. Second, Dibelius does not cite a pattern of ideas that occur together, but only isolated parallels from different texts. Third, Dibelius appears to assume his conclusion on his second area of correspondence, that concerning providential determination of seasons and habitation. Because Cicero, *Tusc. disput.*, 1.28, par 68 and other texts appeal to the seasons in proofs of the existence of the divine, Dibelius interprets *ὁρίσας προστεταγμένους καιρούς* in 17:26 in this way rather than to refer to times in history, which he says would be more like the periodization in Revelation (33–34; this also mistakenly interprets the Areopagus speech as attempting to prove the existence of God; although parts of the speech reason about how humans should conceive the nature of God, the speech assumes the existence of God and asserts that God created everything without attempts at proof). This then becomes part of his support for the speech reflecting Greek philosophical thought.

⁶ David L. Balch, “The Areopagus Speech: An Appeal to the Stoic Historian Posidonius against Later Stoics and the Epicureans,” in *Greeks, Romans, and Christians: Essays in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, ed. David L. Balch, Everett Ferguson, and Wayne A. Meeks (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 52–79; Hans Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, HNT 7 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1963), 103 (Conzelmann views the Stoic elements to have entered through hellenistic Judaism); Jacques Dupont, “Le discours à l’Aréopage (Ac 17,22–31) lieu de rencontre entre christianisme et hellénisme,” *Bib* 60 (1979): 530–46; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, SP 5 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 318–320; Werner Georg Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament*, trans. John J. Vincent, rev. and enlarged ed. (London: Epworth, 1963), 87–95; Pervo, *Acts*, 429–42 (Pervo, however, also evaluates that “a cultured Greek would dismiss these brief words as a stylistically inadequate and muddled collection of clichés with an unexpected and improbable conclusion” [429–30]); Max Pohlenz, “Paulus und die Stoa,” *ZNW* 42 (1949): 82–98. Wilhelm Schmid, “Die Rede des Apostels Paulus vor den Philosophen und Areopagiten in Athen,” *Phil* 95 (1943): 79–120, unlike many studies, emphasizes diversity in Greek philosophical thinking and also notes contrasts in works like Dio Chrysostom, *Dei cogn. (Or. 12)* in how the Areopagus speech presents the one God of Israel as the creator and forbids the use of idols entirely.

W. Pao, and, to an extent, Joshua W. Jipp.⁷ While each of these writers notes points of correspondence with Jewish polemic against idolatry, they establish a specific pattern of polemic for comparison only to a limited extent. Pao, in keeping with the concern of his work, discusses almost solely the features of idol polemics in Isaiah 40–55.⁸ The points of correspondence he notes are creation, rejection of cultic objects made by human hands, materiality of idols (including mention of gold and silver), and sovereignty of God over the nations.⁹ Gärtner’s parallels are rejection of cultic objects made by human hands, idols’ “lack of the commonest signs of life” in contrast to God, idols’ inability to move, and the non-existence of gods represented by idols, often in contrast to Israel’s God.¹⁰ He subsumes the latter three of these under a larger contrast between idols as dead and Israel’s God as living. Kenneth D. Litwak lists scriptural precedent for elements in the Areopagus speech more extensively and notes the combination of idols as false gods, God as creator, and judgment as common to the speech and anti-idol polemic in prophetic literature (specifying Isa 40 and 44).¹¹ Much of his study, however, lists references from prophetic literature corresponding to isolated elements in the speech rather than establishing a recurrent pattern.

⁷ Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, esp. 211–215, 219–23; Jacques Dupont, “La conversion dans les actes des apôtres,” *LumVie* 47 (1960): 51; Jacques Dupont, “Le salut des Gentils et la signification théologique du Livre des Actes,” *NTS* 6 (1959–1960): 153; Cristoph W. Stenschke, *Luke’s Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 14–24, 203–224; H. Armin Moellering, “Deisidaimonia, a Footnote to Acts 17:22,” *CTM* 34 (1963): 470; David W. Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, WUNT, 2nd ser., 130 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 181–216, with discussion of the Areopagus speech on 193–197; Joshua W. Jipp, “Paul’s Areopagus Speech of Acts 17:16–34 as *Both Critique and Propaganda*,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 579–81, 584–85, partly following Gärtner. Jipp, however, also emphasizes commonality with Stoicism on 571, 577–84.

⁸ He also suggests one allusion to Deut 29:15–16 in Acts 17:29, Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 195.

⁹ Pao, *Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus*, 194–97. Specific allusions to Isaiah that he proposes are 17:24–25 to Isa 42:5 and 17:29 to Isa 40:18–20.

¹⁰ Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, 211–215, 219–223.

¹¹ Kenneth D. Litwak, “Israel’s Prophets Meet Athens’ Philosophers: Scriptural Echoes in Acts 17,22–31,” *Bib* 85 (2004): 203–210.

Those taking both approaches attempt to support correspondence, whether to Jewish polemics or Greek philosophical literature, through citing statements across various texts rather than establishing corresponding patterns in detail. Where some have suggested corresponding patterns, these have often lacked specificity or precision. Khiok-khng Yeo and Eckhard Schnabel, for example, view the progression of the speech as corresponding to Stoic argumentation according to Balbus in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.4.¹² Schnabel lists demonstration of the existence of the gods, diversity but singularity of the divine, divine permeation of the world, and providence.¹³ These four elements do not account for other elements of the Areopagus speech, and as Bertil Gärtner notes, the speech does not argue for the existence of God, but makes assertions.¹⁴

Consideration of the christological significance of Jesus' activity in judgment in 17:31 in commentaries is minimal, although many include a reference to 10:42. Among those with no development of Jesus' activity or nature in 17:31, aside from noting the resurrection's function to prove he has the role of judge and recognizing his appointment, are those by C.K. Barrett, Conzelmann, Ernst Haenchen, Jacob Jervell, Johnson, Gerhard Schneider, and Robert C. Tannehill.¹⁵

¹² Khiok-khng Yeo, "A Rhetorical Study of Acts 17.22–31: What Has Jerusalem to Do with Athens and Beijing?," *Jian Dao* 1 (1994): 82; Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Contextualising Paul in Athens: The Proclamation of the Gospel before Pagan Audiences in the Graeco-Roman World," *R&T* 12 (2005): 179.

¹³ Schnabel, "Contextualising Paul in Athens," 179.

¹⁴ Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, 146. Notably, Galen, although not a Stoic, perceived Jewish and Christian teaching as characterized by assertion without reasoned proof. See the quotation about Moses from his lost *On Hippocrates' Anatomy* in R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians*, OCPM (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 11 and also 48–56 for further criticism by Galen of Judaism and Christianity for this reason. Galen could, however, also criticize some Stoics for following tradition rather than reasoning. See 41–42 in the same volume.

¹⁵ C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., ICC (1994–1998; repr., London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 2:853; Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 102; Ernst Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 9th ed., KEK 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 505–506; Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 450, 454; Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 317; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2:243; Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1986, 1990), 2:220.

As in the case of 10:42, some commentators associate Jesus' judgment activity in 17:31 with Jesus as the Son of Man who judges, but without development.¹⁶ David G. Peterson calls the speech "ultimately messianic" but without further explanation or development.¹⁷ F.F. Bruce recognizes κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ in 17:31 as from Psalms 9:9; 96:13 (LXX 95:13); and 98:9 (LXX 97:9) and says without defence, "The words in their OT context refer to the Messianic reign, but Paul applies them to the judgment with which that reign is to be inaugurated."¹⁸ While leaving the suggestion undeveloped, Beverly Roberts Gaventa suggests that Acts 17:31 may relate to Jesus' appointment as messiah.¹⁹ A small number of writers associate Jesus' judgment in 17:31 with divine activity, but again without development. Schnabel writes that "it is ultimately impossible to distinguish between God's action and the action of Jesus,"²⁰ while J.C. O'Neill views Acts 17:31 as applying a statement about Yahweh in Psalm 9 to Jesus as the messiah.²¹

As in the case of 10:42, therefore, the christological significance of the statement about Jesus and judgment in 17:31 has received little attention within the large amount of literature devoted to the Areopagus speech. The question of how much the speech appropriates Jewish polemic or reflects Greek philosophical thought in contrast to other parts of Luke-Acts complicates determining the significance of 17:31. An evaluation of the degree to which the content of the speech corresponds to Stoic thought follows to clear the way for

¹⁶ E.g., Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 570; David G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PiNTC (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 503, who also suggests this by citing Dan 7:13–14; Matt 25:31; Mark 13:26; 14:62; John 5:27.

¹⁷ Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 493.

¹⁸ F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), 340.

¹⁹ Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2003), 200.

²⁰ Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Acts*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), 742.

²¹ J.C. O'Neill, *Who Did Jesus Think He Was?*, BINS 11 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 113. See my argument below that the speech more closely corresponds to Ps 96 than Ps 9.

considering how Jesus's judgment in the speech simultaneously suggests his divine authority and messianic identity.

5.3 Correspondence with Stoicism?

Determining the significance of Acts 17:31 within the speech requires evaluating whether the speech primarily appears as an appropriation of Jewish polemic or an affirming accommodation of a form of Greek philosophical thought. A sharp division between Jewish and Greek elements in Jewish or Christian literature from the Hellenistic period is not always possible, not only because of the various degrees of overlap possible, but also because a Jewish writer could appropriate Greek patterns or lines of reasoning, even when arguing against elements of Greek religious practice or philosophy.²² I argue, however, that, in John M.G. Barclay's categories, where the speech reflects acculturation, its theology and cosmology are further on the oppositional, rather than integrative, side of a spectrum of accommodation.²³ The proposed correspondence with Stoicism in the speech is not as close as often proposed, and the speech, while perhaps using some expressions like those in some Greek philosophical texts, appropriates a specific scriptural pattern of polemic to advance its theology of one transcendent but imminent God distinguished from other deities by his activities of creation and judgment.

The narrative setting of the speech prepares for interpretation of the speech against a backdrop that includes Stoic and Epicurean philosophy while also suggesting that the speech's content will not be a restatement of ideas common to one of the philosophical

²² As, e.g., Philo and Josephus, on the latter of which see with regard to idols in *Ag. Ap.* specifically John M.G. Barclay, "Snarling Sweetly: Josephus on Images and Idolatry," in *Idolatry: False Worship in the Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 73–87, esp. 74–75, 84–87, where Barclay emphasizes Josephus' use of Greek philosophical argument against poetic portrayal of the gods, but taking its implications further in support of aniconism.

²³ See John M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE – 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 94–98.

schools. Some also suggest that the Athens episode parallels Paul to one of the Greek philosophers.²⁴ Acts 17:21, however, making no distinction between the philosophers and the general population and visitors to the city, attributes their desire to listen to Paul to curious love of novelty. Their criticism and confusion in 17:18–19 suggest their encounters with Paul’s teaching did not emphasize commonality between their systems of thought and his teaching.

The most frequently suggested correspondences with Stoicism concern God as a creator, providence, divine immanence, and critique of cultic objects (particularly idols). The following provides an evaluation of the degree of correspondence in the speech to Stoicism in these areas. Since the difference between the content of the speech and Epicurean thinking is sharp enough that few suggest the speech significantly draws from Epicureanism, I only consider Stoicism here.

5.3.1 Creation, Providence, and Immanence

Stoics could speak of creation using expressions similar to conventional formulae in Jewish and Christian texts. Epictetus, *Discourses* 4.7.6, for example, contains the phrase, ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποίηκεν τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον. This occurs, however, as part of a larger rhetorical question revealing what it would mean for a Stoic: Εἴτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναται τις οὕτως διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι· ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ καὶ

²⁴ The most frequently cited parallel is the perception of Paul as a proclaimer of ξένων δαιμονίων in 17:18 with the charge against Socrates in, e.g., Plato, *Euthyphr.* 3B; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.1.1 (note also Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.267 following the death of Socrates in 2.263–264), an association that may date as early as Justin, 2 *Apol.* 10:6. See, e.g., Dibelius, “Paul on the Areopagus,” 65; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 53–54; Schmid, “Die Rede des Apostels Paulus vor den Philosophen in Athen,” 83; and most commentaries. Some studies see a larger number of parallels throughout the speech and Athens episode to portray Paul as like one of the philosophers, such as Jipp, “Paul’s Areopagus Speech of Acts 17:16–34 as *Both Critique and Propaganda*,” 570–572 (Socrates); Karl Olav Sandnes, “Paul and Socrates: The Aim of Paul’s Areopagus Speech,” *JSNT* 50 (1993): 13–26; David M. Reis, “The Areopagus as Echo Chamber: *Mimesis* and Intertextuality in Acts 17,” *JHC* 9 (2002): 266–73 (Socrates); and Clare K. Rothschild, *Paul in Athens: The Popular Religious Context of Acts 17*, WUNT 341 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), the latter of which compares Paul to Epimenides. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, views the episode as patterning Paul after Apollonius of Tyana, esp. 47–48, 52–53.

ἀποδείξεως οὐδείς δύναται μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποιήκεν τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον μὲν ἀκώλυτον καὶ αὐτοτελῆ, τὰ ἐν μέρει δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς χρείαν τῶν ὅλων;. The world is an ordered whole, and the ordering reason that permeates it is divine. The Stoic Balbus in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* quotes a summary by Zeno in 2.21: *Quod ratione utitur id melius est quam id quod ratione non utitur; nihil autem mundo melius; ratione igitur mundus utitur*, following with, *Similiter effici potest sapientem esse mundum, similiter beatum, similiter aeternum; omnia enim haec meliora sunt quam ea quae sunt his carentia, nec mundo quicquam melius. Ex quo eficietur esse mundum deum.*²⁵ Later in the same section, 2.29–30 appears to clarify that the Stoic speaker does not exactly equate the world with God, but rather that God is an element with reason that permeates the world and is the world's *principatus*, or ἡγεμονικόν. God created the world in that God, the ordering reason permeating the world, is the cause of the world's orderly arrangement. Seneca, *Epistle* 95.52 provides further explanation of the relationship of God and the world in Stoic thought: *omne hoc, quod vides, quo divina atque humana conclusa sunt, unum est; membra sumus corporis magni. Natura nos cognatos edidit, cum ex isdem et in eadem gigneret.*

The Stoic understandings of providence and immanence flow from this cosmology. *De Natura Deorum* 2.58 explains: *Talis igitur mens mundi cum sit ob eamque causam vel prudential vel providentia appellari recte possit (Graece enim πρόνοια dicitur), haec potissimum providet et in his maxime est occupata, primum ut mundus quam aptissimus sit ad permanendum, deinde ut nulla re egeat, maxime autem ut in eo eximia pulchritudo sit atque omnis ornatus.* Marcus Aurelius, as a Roman Stoic, later reflects a view of the divine that

²⁵ Similar concise statements of the world as God are in 2.30, 34, 39, 46, 47. Also, e.g., Seneca, *Ep.* 92.30.

seems less tied to the physical world,²⁶ but he does not conceive of a creator who is distinct from the world while still immanent, as in the Areopagus speech. *Meditations* 3.5; 5.27; and 12:26 speak of divinity within humans, but again not a deity who is distinct from the created world, personal, and also immanent. Anthony Kenny, in describing Stoicism as a philosopher, is less ready to see correspondence between Stoicism and the Areopagus speech than many commentators on Acts. After noting Acts 17:28, he asserts, “The underlying Stoic conception of God is very different, however, from that of the biblical religions. God is not separate from the universe but is a material constituent of the cosmos.”²⁷

The quotation of Aratus’ *Phaenomena* and the statement ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, which some consider a quotation of Cleanthes’ *Hymn to Zeus*, in Acts 17:28 might seem to bring this assessment into question.²⁸ They do not, however, clearly speak of Stoicism’s permeating divine immanence. First, the other statements about God in the speech emphasize him as a creator in a manner distinct from his creation, and as one to whom all humans are accountable in a way foreign to Stoic thought. Second, in the quotation ἐν followed by a personal object may indicate dependence, a subcategory of instrumentality. Those who interpret the speech as largely accommodating Stoic thought often still affirm the

²⁶ R.B. Rutherford, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius: A Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 243–44.

²⁷ Anthony Kenny, *Ancient Philosophy*, vol. 1 of *A New History of Western Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 98.

²⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.19.91.5; John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 38; Didymus of Alexandria’s *On Genesis* 227.11; attribute the quotation to Aratus’ *Phaenomena*. Some have suggested the quotation comes instead from Cleanthes’ *Hymn to Zeus*, but Aratus may have used the hymn by his contemporary, as Kirsopp Lake, “‘Your Own Poets’,” in *The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920–1933), 5:247 suggests. Some suggest from comments by Isho’dad that the first part of the verse, less often cited as a quotation, may come from Epimenides. See, e.g., Lake, “‘Your Own Poets’,” 5:249–51 and recently Rothschild, *Paul in Athens*, 7–24, 67–73. Rothschild’s discussion of the possible quotation is part of a larger argument that Acts 17 portrays Paul as like Epimenides. Aratus’ *Phaenomena*, however, both has more historical attribution, as mentioned above, and greater demonstrable similarity to the form of the line in the Areopagus speech. See, e.g., M.J. Edwards, “Quoting Aratus: Acts 17,28,” *ZNW* 58 (1992): 266–67 and, arguing against the first part of the verse coming from Epimenides, Pohlenz, “Paulus und die Stoa,” 101–104.

meaning of ἐν here to indicate dependence, such Édouard des Places and Johnson.²⁹ Charles H. Talbert cites Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 13.104; Philostratus, *Epistle* 65; *Corpus Hermeticum* 9.9; Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat* 48.4; *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 12.2; *De ebrietate* 62.2; 1 Clement 30:6; and Ignatius, *Ephesians* 6:2 as examples of this use of ἐν with a personal object to indicate “complete dependence.”³⁰ Gärtner comes to the same conclusion.³¹ While this kind of expression could express permeating divine immanence consistent with Stoicism, in this speech it may acknowledge a general recognition that humans owe their existence to God and are dependent on him. Third, τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν in the *Phaenomena* speaks of human dependence rather than of humans having a divine nature or of Stoic pantheism or panentheism. Yeo says of 17:28 that “the idea of the proximity (οὐ μακρὰν ‘not far’) of God to human beings defined in terms of God’s offspring is foreign to the OT though popular in Greek philosophy.”³² In Jeremiah 2:37; 3:4, 19, however, addressing a deity as a father shows allegiance to that deity, and, in Luke-Acts, Jesus’ genealogy ends with τοῦ Ἀδάμ τοῦ θεοῦ in 3:38, also expressing the human race as begotten by God and having all come through one man.³³

²⁹ Édouard des Places, “Actes 17.25,” *Bib* 46 (1965): 221 and Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 316. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 504 also opposed to the phrase speaking of divine immanence, similarly understands it to refer to humanity’s origination from God.

³⁰ Charles H. Talbert, “The Fourth Gospel’s Soteriology between New Birth and Resurrection,” in *Getting “Saved”: The Whole Story of Salvation in the New Testament*, ed. Charles H. Talbert and Jason A. Whitlark (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2011), 186–87. Talbert follows C.H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 187–88 on the meaning of the Johannine ἐν θεῷ and takes the phrase “complete dependence” from him.

³¹ Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, 179–98.

³² Yeo, “A Rhetorical Study of Acts 17.22–31,” 93.

³³ Hans Klein, *Das Lukasevangelium*, KEK 1/3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 174; David Paul Moessner, *Luke the Historian of Israel’s Legacy, Theologian of Israel’s ‘Christ’: A New Reading of the ‘Gospel Acts’ of Luke*, BZNW 182 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 36–37; Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 176 also associate Luke 3:38 with Acts 17:28.

5.3.2 Critique of Cultic Objects

The most frequently noted similarity with Greek philosophical literature in the Areopagus speech is the critique of cultic objects, especially idols. Discussions of the Areopagus speech frequently cite Dio Chrysostom, *De dei cognitione* (*Or. 12*), his *Olympic Oration*, as similar to it in this respect. Dean Zweck states that “perhaps the closest parallel to the Areopagus speech is the *Olympic Oration*.”³⁴ Although not strictly a Stoic, Dio’s ideas in this oration appear in the main to follow Stoicism. Dio’s statements concerning the inadequacies of an idol to reflect the divine nature in full, such as in 12.60, are not, however, actually against idols. Dio delivered this oration about the statue of Zeus in Olympia, and it praises the idol and its magnificent craftsmanship. In 27–47, he includes the creative arts as one of the five ways humans learn about the gods, and the remainder of the speech in 48–84 evaluates the use of the creative arts to depict the divine.³⁵ This part of the speech praises the sculptor of the idol in that, while images cannot fully reflect the divine, this statue of Zeus is so grand that a superior one would not be possible. He gives words to the sculptor in 12.60 saying that no one would say that it would be better not to have a statute. After summarizing the content of his oration as a whole, he concludes in 84 by saying, εἰ δὲ μετ’ εὐφημίας τοῦ τε ἀγάλματος καὶ τῶν ἰδρυσαμένων, πολὺ ἄμεινον.

³⁴ Dean Zweck, “The Exordium of the Areopagus Speech, Acts 17.22, 23,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 99. References to *Dei cogn.* appear in many commentaries in addition to other studies such as Balch, “The Areopagus Speech,” 72–73, 79 (Balch goes so far as to say that it “presents a Stoic model that was important in producing this speech”); Dibelius, “Paul on the Areopagus,” 34n19, 47n58, 47n59, 53; and C. Kavin Rowe, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 37, although Rowe notably considers the Areopagus speech to appropriate the language of Greek philosophy within a specifically Christian framework and therefore more polemical than accommodating. G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom and the New Testament*, SCHNT 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 126–29 lists as parallels *Dei cogn.* 12, 22, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 42, 44, 60, 61, 77, 80, and 81.

³⁵ Schmid, “Die Rede des Apostels Paulus vor den Philosophen und Areopagiten in Athen,” 86–88, 91–92 considers the content of *Dei cogn.* in detail, noting its contrast with the Areopagus speech through its commendation of creative arts for instructing about the divine through idols.

Denial that statues are themselves deities does not equate to criticizing idols or other cultic objects. As some texts present Stoicism, statues of gods are instructive, and they, along with other cultic objects, are means for humans to express their piety. In *De Natura Deorum* 2.79, Balbus speaks of veneration of idols positively. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 7.119 says of Zeno's view of wise people, ἐπεσκέφθαι γὰρ περὶ θυσιῶν, ἰδρύσεων, καθαρμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς θεοὺς οἰκείων. In *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 7.33, Diogenes does indeed mention the aversion to temples in Zeno's *Republic*, but not in a polemic against idols nor even in a discussion of the nature of gods. He mentions that the *Republic* teaches to not build temples, courts, and gymnasia in cities as an example of what others criticized in the *Republic* along with having wives in common, money being unnecessary in society, and free exposure of all parts of the body. It appears as an example of Zeno's eccentricity, not in an explanation of his theology.

Critiques of idols and cult also appear in Greek philosophical literature, or Greek literature influenced by philosophy, outside of Stoicism, but these critiques follow a different reasoning and appear in a different theological framework than those of the Areopagus speech. Plato, for example, in *Leges* 11.931a acknowledges that idols are “soulless” (ἀψύχους). He does so, however, while speaking positively of venerating idols, which he says results in the favour of the gods they represent. The criticism of cult in Lucretius, *On the Nature of the Universe* 5.1194–1203, which Jipp cites as corresponding to the Areopagus speech,³⁶ is part of a larger Epicurean frame of thought in which cult does not matter because the gods do not interact with humans and the world. While less philosophical, Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 6.250a relates an anecdote of Democles calling statues of nymphs dead in contrast of Dionysius. In 6.253a–f he gives another anecdote of the Athenians calling

³⁶ Jipp, “Paul’s Areopagus Speech of Acts 17:16–34 as *Both Critique and Propaganda*,” 577.

Demetrius the only true god in contrast to other gods who are far off, do not have ears, or do not exist, praising his presence among them not in the form of wood and stone. Athenaeus presents both of these incidents as negative examples of flattery, and he does not criticize idols or veneration of other deities. Stuart Weeks notes concerning references to Horace, *Satires* 1.8.1–3 as like the critique of idols in the Areopagus speech that this text “is not, however, an attack on idolatry, despite the self-deprecating tone of its narrator, but on witchcraft, and Horace gives us no grounds for supposing that biblical attacks on effigies have counterparts elsewhere.”³⁷

5.3.3 Early Patristic Interpretation

Finally, early patristic writers, whose context included living influence from the Greek philosophical schools, do not indicate that they understood the speech as commending its audience or as designed to show common ground specifically with Stoicism. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1.19.91 cites the speech and its quotation of Aratus as demonstrating that Greek philosophy providentially happened upon some truth. He does not specify correspondence with any particular school and makes clear in 1.19.91–92 that this truth is insufficient because the Greeks did not know God by Jesus as the son. He later uses the beginning of the speech in 5.12.82 to show that knowledge of God is not possible except by his grace and word. Origen’s *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 10.7.30 cites Acts 17:23 and 28 as illustrating Paul’s practice in 1 Corinthians 9:21 as he εὐσέβειαν μαρτυρῶν τοῖς ἀσεβεστάτοις, showing Paul as accommodating in his communication but giving a negative assessment of the audience of the speech.³⁸ Didymus of Alexandria similarly quotes the same

³⁷ Stuart Weeks, “Man-made Gods? Idolatry in the Old Testament,” in Barton, *Idolatry: False Worship in the Bible, Early Judaism and Christianity*, 10.

³⁸ He uses the verses for the same illustration in his commentary on 1 Corinthians sec. 43, lines 15–22. See Claude Jenkins, “Origen on 1 Corinthians III,” *JTS* 9 (1908): 513.

two verses along with Titus 1:12 to illustrate 2 Corinthians 10:5 without any positive assessment of the audience of the speech.³⁹ Epiphanius presents the Areopagus speech as demonstrating Paul's Greek education and presents only a negative view of the speech's audience.⁴⁰ Finally, John Chrysostom understands Paul as sharply contradicting both Stoics and Epicureans from the beginning of the speech by his affirmation of God as creator.⁴¹ None of these writers say that the speech has any particular correspondence with Stoicism.

Outside of interpretation of the Areopagus speech, the approach to Stoicism that Justin, who self-identifies as a Christian philosopher and claims to have tried Stoicism earlier in his life, takes is also relevant to this question. Although not mentioning the Areopagus speech in this regard, the contrast he emphasizes between Christianity and Stoicism is the starting point of the Areopagus speech: God as creator of everything and therefore distinct from his creation.⁴² Although he commends Stoic understanding of morality in *2 Apology* 8.1 and admits Plato, Stoics, and other Greeks affirm some truth about morality as a result of the divinely implanted word in *2 Apology* 13, he contrasts Christian understanding of the world's destruction specifically with Stoic teaching concerning conflagration in *1 Apology* 20 and *2 Apology* 7 on the basis of God as creator and his distinction from his creation. He further

³⁹ *In Gen.*, 227.11.

⁴⁰ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 42.12.3 refut. 20 (Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 34–64, vol. 2 of *Epiphanius*, ed. Karl Holl and Jürgen Dummer, 2nd ed., GCS (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), II 169,4–10).

⁴¹ *Hom. Act.* 38 (PG 60.268).

⁴² As in the assessment of C. Kevin Rowe, *One True Life: The Stoics and Early Christians as Rival Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 145. While Justin's description of Stoicism may not accurately reflect how some contemporary Stoics may have described their own position (on which see Runar M. Thorsteinsson, "Justin and Stoic Cosmo-Theology," *JTS*, n.s., 63 (2012): 533–71), his presentation of it would be such that those familiar with a popular idea of Stoicism could understand it and associate it with Stoicism, particularly since he himself claims to have tried Stoicism earlier in his life. Notably, Philo and Christian authors up to the time of Augustine who obviously appropriate Greek philosophical thought in critiquing worship of something aside from the God of Israel frequently do so to criticize worship of nature. They emphasize the distinctiveness of the Genesis account of creation in arguing against both Christian heresies and Greek philosophy, even when interpreting through a Platonic lens. See Isaac Miller, "Idolatry and the Polemics of World-Formation from Philo to Augustine," *JRH* 28 (2004): 126–45 for a discussion of philosophical critique of the worship of nature in Philo, Basil of Caesarea, and Augustine, esp. 131–41 on the critical use and interpretation of Genesis.

contrasts a Christian understanding of human freedom with Stoic determinism in 2 *Apology* 7.

All of these points bring into question the degree to which the Areopagus speech functions in Acts to demonstrate commonality with Stoic thought or to affirm its audience. The following alternative assessment that it appropriates a pattern of Jewish polemic prepares for understanding the christological significance of Jesus' activity in judgment in 17:31.

5.4 Jesus' Judgment in Acts 17:31 and Divine Authority

The rest of this chapter argues that the presentation of Jesus as a judge in Acts 17:31 within the Areopagus speech and the Athens episode suggests divine authority and messianic identity. This section offers points drawing attention to how the Areopagus speech relates Jesus' activity in judgment to divine authority: (1) the speech places Jesus' judgment within a pattern of Jewish polemic emphasizing the uniqueness and singularity of the God of Israel, (2) the correspondence between Psalm 96 and the Areopagus speech places Jesus in his judgment into the place of Yahweh in his judgment in Psalm 96, (3) the Athens episode displays fluidity in specifying Jesus and God as the object of Paul's proclamation, and (4) Jesus appears to judge with God's final judgment.

5.4.1 Patterns of Jewish Polemic against Other Deities and the Uniqueness of Israel's God

The first feature of how the Areopagus speech presents Jesus' judgment as indicative of divine authority is its placement of his judgment within a pattern of Jewish polemic against idolatry and other deities. Establishing this feature requires three steps. (1) The first step is to establish the appropriation of this pattern in the Areopagus speech by observing the elements of the pattern and demonstrating its specific and extensive correspondence in the Areopagus speech. (2) The second step is to observe the function of polemics that follow this pattern, namely that they serve to advance a theology of the uniqueness and singularity of the God of

Israel, distinguishing him from other deities by his activities of creation and judgment. (3)

The third step is to bring together the results of the two previous steps to inform the interpretation of the Areopagus speech.

5.4.1.1 A Pattern of Jewish Polemic in the Areopagus Speech

The Areopagus speech reflects a pattern of polemic in scriptural texts and in Jewish texts from the Hellenistic period against idolatry and other deities, and these polemics often highlight God's activities of creation and judgment. Some observe a collection of common elements in Jewish polemics against idolatry, but they do not extend beyond listing a few such elements. Robert H. Pfeiffer, for example, includes the Lord's judgment of idols, their makers, and their users as common elements in scriptural polemics of this kind,⁴³ and Nijay K. Gupta lists five characteristic elements: "(1) the idol is a human creation; (2) the idol is not alive; (3) the idol does not have natural senses (seeing, hearing, speaking); (4) the idol cannot move; and (5) the idol is inefficacious (i.e., useless)."⁴⁴

Masanobu Endo's study of Jewish creation accounts provides a model that may also serve for comparing the common elements in texts sharing a pattern of polemic against idols and veneration of deities besides the God of Israel.⁴⁵ The tables in Endo's study, and the tables below that follow their design, facilitate the comparison of content and theological emphases across several texts, revealing commonalities and patterns.⁴⁶ Endo notes that the

⁴³ Robert H. Pfeiffer, "The Polemic against Idolatry in the Old Testament," *JBL* 43 (1924): 239. Pfeiffer places this polemic throughout OT texts in the post-exilic period through the use of the old form of source criticism popular at the time of his writing.

⁴⁴ Nijay K. Gupta, "'They Are Not Gods!': Jewish and Christian Idol Polemic and Greco-Roman Use of Cult Statues," *CBQ* 76 (2014): 711.

⁴⁵ See throughout Masanobu Endo, *Creation and Christology: A Study on the Johannine Prologue in the Light of Early Jewish Creation Accounts* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2002), 12–165 for his analysis with a summary table on 159. Endo uses the term "creation accounts" broadly to include "narrative and descriptive accounts and brief references to creation" (7). For convenience, I have followed his use of the term.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 156, 159, 163. Rather than Endo's tick marks, verse numbers specify where each element appears, with the exception of judgment context.

creation accounts he analyzes frequently emphasize the uniqueness of Israel's God and provides two lists of texts, one of scriptural and another of other Jewish texts, with this emphasis. Since polemics against idols or other deities contrast them with Israel's God, these two lists may provide a starting point for comparing the relevant polemics.

Endo's list of Jewish creation accounts emphasizing the uniqueness of Israel's God in scriptural texts includes three that contain polemical contrasts between the God of Israel and idols or other gods, specifically Isaiah 40:18–26; 45:7; and Jeremiah 10:12–13.⁴⁷ Several other scriptural texts further substantiate the general pattern. These include Psalm 96; 115; 135; Isaiah 2:8, 18, 20; 30–31; 37:16–20 (par. 2 Kings 19:15–19); 46; Jeremiah 51:15–19; Ezekiel 16; and Habakkuk 2. Where Hebrew and Greek verse numbers differ, the table uses the Hebrew numbering for convenience.

	C	S	L/D	N	UA	HN	I	H	GS	F	JL ⁴⁸	JC
Acts 17:22–31	24	24	25, 28	26	30–31	29		29	29	23, 30 ⁴⁹	31	
Ps 96	5	9			9–10, 13		(5)				10, 13	
Ps 115	15			16			5–7	4	4	8		
Ps 135		5	17	8–12			16–17	15	15	18	14	
Isa 2					4, 19, 21			8, 20	20		4	✓
Isa 37:16–20	16	(16)	17	16			19	19	19 ⁵⁰			✓

⁴⁷ Ibid., 158.

⁴⁸ JL in this table and the one following refers to the use of words meaning “judge” or “judgment,” while JC concerns a broader concern with God administering judgment, either within the passage or surrounding it, whether through bringing a sentence against those who do evil or vindicating the righteous.

⁴⁹ The Areopagus speech does not use the language of foolishness directly, but it speaks of its audience as ignorant, which is a negative characterization in both Jewish theological and Greek philosophical worlds. Note the pairing of ignorance and foolishness at the beginning of the polemic in Wisd 13:1.

⁵⁰ These verses alternately speak of idols of עץ, but they do so in an extended parody of idols on the basis of their material composition in a manner similar to critiquing idols as made of gold and silver. The two common pairs of materials from which idols are made in the scriptural texts are (1) כסף and זהב and (2) עץ and אבן. In addition to the texts in the table, the former pairing for idols occurs in Exod 20:23; Deut 7:25; 29:16; Isa 30:22; 31:7; and Hos 2:10 (also דהבא וכסף in Dan 5:4 and the reverse order in 23). The latter pairing occurs in

Isa 40–41	40:12, 26, 28	40:10		40:15, 17, 23–24; 41:2	41:5, 11–12		41:22–24	40:19–20; 41:7, 29	40:19		40:10 14, 27; 41:1	✓
Isa 44–46	44:24; 45:12, 18	44:6		44:7; 45:14	45:22–24	45:1	(44:9, 15–19); 45:20; 46:1–2, 7	44:9–17; 45:16	44:12–16, 19 ⁵¹ ; 46:6	44:9, 18–20; 45:20		✓
Jer 10 ⁵²	12, 16	10	10, 14	25	10	(5)	5, 11, 15	3, 9, 14	4, 9	8, 14–15		✓
Jer 51:15–19	15, 19		17				17	17		17		✓
Ezek 16								17	17		38, 41, 52	✓
Hab 2			19		20		18–19	18	19	18		✓
Total texts	8/12	7/12	6/12	7/12	7/12	3/12	9/12	11/12	10/12	7/12	6/12	8/12
											11/12	

*C: Israel's God as Creator; S: Sovereignty of God expressed as lordship or kingship; L/D: God as living or as life-giver, or the deadness of idols; N: God's control over peoples or nations; UA: Universal accountability to God; I: Idols' inability to act and powerlessness; HN: The superiority of human nature to idols; H: The human-made nature of idols; GS: Gold and silver as materials from which idols are made or which adorn them; F: Foolishness or deception of idol veneration; JL: Judgment language (i.e., words meaning "judge" or "judgment"); JC: Additional judgment context.

Most of the texts in Endo's other list mention creation for purposes other than polemic against idolatry and other deities, so they do not need discussion here. Those that are more relevant are *Jubilees* 12:4; 2 *Enoch* 33:7–8; 66:1–2, 5; and *Sibylline Oracles* 3:8–25. The table below also includes Bel and the Dragon, which is a narrative expansion of the polemic pattern, Epistle of Jeremiah, *Jubilees* 20, Wisdom of Solomon 13–15, and Philo's *De decalogo* 52–72 and *De specialibus legibus* 1.13–31.⁵³

Deut 4:28; 28:36, 64; 29:16; 2 Kings 19:18; Isa 37:19; Jer 3:9; Ezek 20:32; Hab 2:19 (also אָעָא וְאַבְנָא in Dan 5:4, 23). See also Rev 9:20.

⁵¹ 44:12–16 uses an alternate pairing of בָּרָא and עָץ with 44:19 repeating עָץ.

⁵² The results are the same for the long and short recensions of Jer 10 except that the short recension does not include verses 8 and 10.

⁵³ Completing the list of such passages in Wolfgang M.W. Roth, "For Life, He Appeals to Death (Wis 13:18): A Study of Old Testament Idol Parodies," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 21. Although he does not include Ep Jer, Wis 14, and the two works of Philo in his list on 21, he includes Wis 14 in his discussion of Wis 13–15 on 45–47 and

	C	S	L/D	N	UA	HN	I	H	GS	F	JL	JC
Acts 17:22–31	24	24	25, 28	26	30–31	29		29	29	23, 30	31	
Bel 1–22	5	5	5				7	5		7		
Ep Jer			25			59 ⁵⁴	8–72 ⁵⁵	8, 45–46, 51	4, 8–11, 30, 39, 50, 55, 57–58, 70–71	7, 20, 27, 39, ⁵⁶ 42, 47, 49	54 ⁵⁷	✓
Jub. 12	4		4				2–3, 5	5		5		
Jub. 20			8					8		8	5	
2 En. 33	8	7										
2 En. 66 (J)	3–5						2	5			7 = 65:11 (A)	✓
Sib. Or. 3:8–45	20–28, 35	11, 19	11, (33)				31	13–14			34	✓

I have included it here as the part of the polemic that continues through these three chapters. All passages he lists in the Old Testament appear in the table below. Ep Jer probably uses the short form of Jer 10, as Benjamin D. Thomas, “Reevaluating the Influence of Jeremiah 10 upon the Apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah: A Case for the Short Edition,” ZAW 120 (2008): 547–62 argues. Thomas explains the difference of the equivalents to *כתמר מקשה* in the short form and in Ep Jer as due to translational difficulty rather than difference in a *Vorlage*, and therefore allows that Ep Jer may have derived its *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν σικυηράτῳ προβασκάνιον* from the short form. Although *Dec.* addresses idolatry more strictly in 64–72 and *Spec.* in 1.20–31, I include *Dec.* 52–63 and *Spec.* 13–19 since some of the elements of the pattern also apply to the confrontation of deifying elements, astral bodies, and parts of the world in *Dec.* 52–63 and deifying astral bodies in *Spec.* 1.13–19.

⁵⁴ The contrast in Ep Jer 59 is with kings rather than humans generally. The inferiority of idols to humans is largely implicit but clear throughout Ep Jer. Ep Jer explicitly says that idols are inferior to kings (59), human-made functional objects (59), astral bodies and other elements of nature (60–63, 67), and animals (68).

⁵⁵ The inability of idols to act and their consequent worthlessness is the theme throughout Ep Jer. The verses that state these characteristics of idols directly are 8, 12–15, 17–22, 24, 26–27, 34–38, 41, 49, 53–58, 63–64, 66–68, 70–72.

⁵⁶ Ep Jer 27, 39 differ from the other verses in this column in that they emphasize shame resulting from serving idols rather than speaking of serving them as foolish in a direct way. This shame, however, results from the foolishness of the act of serving them, since those who serve them are ashamed when the idols do nothing in response.

⁵⁷ Ep Jer 54 uses judgment language negatively to say that idols cannot judge, which demonstrates that they are not gods. This is in implicit contrast to Israel’s God.

Wis 13–15	13:1, 3–5; 14:11; (15:11)	13:3	13:10, 17– 18; 14:29; 15:5, 11, 17			13:16; 15:16– 17	13:16, 18– 19; 15:15	13:10– 15; 14:8, 12–20; 15:4, 7–9, 13, 16	13:10; 15:9	13:1; 14:1; 15:4– 5, 14– 15	14:11, 30–31	✓
<i>Decal.</i> 52–72	53, 58, 61–62, 64, 69	53, 61	67			70–72		66, 70–72	66	55, 59, 61– 62, ⁵⁸ 69		
<i>Spec.</i> 1.13– 31	20, 30	14, 18, 30–31	21, 29, 31					21–22, 29	21–23	20– 21, ⁵⁹ 26, 28–29		
Total texts	9/11	7/11	9/11	1/11	1/11	4/11	6/11	10/11	5/11	8/11	6/11	5/ 11
											7/11	

The number of elements appearing across concise texts in the table demonstrates the existence of a pattern, even if not every text includes every element. Where elements of the pattern appear in similar forms across texts, the specificity of the correspondence establishes the pattern even further. An example is gold and silver as the materials from which idols are made or which adorn them, which appears in ten of the twelve texts in the first table. Some Greek philosophical literature emphasizes the materiality of idols, but the specific pairing of gold and silver does not characterize Stoic or other Greek philosophical discussions of the materiality of idols. While the pairing occurs, however, in Epictetus, *Diatribai* 2.8.13 and in the quotation of Homer, *Iliad* 18.474–475 in Dio Chrysostom, *De dei cognitione* 12.83,⁶⁰ this

⁵⁸ *Decal.* 55, 59 presents deification of the world or parts of it to be foolish, and 61–62 anything created, rather than idols specifically, which Philo addresses later in the passage.

⁵⁹ *Spec.* 1.20 presents veneration of astral bodies rather than as deities to be foolish.

⁶⁰ *Dei cogn.* 12.83: χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν ἀπειρέα κασσίτερόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα καὶ ἄργυρον. *Dei cogn.* elaborates on the materials of idols in 12.44, 49, 81, and 83. While 12.49 mentions gold, it does so because it is describing the specific statue of Zeus that is present. Although J.W. Cohoon's translation of χρυσὸν καὶ λίθου in 12.81 as "gold and silver" in Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, trans. J.W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby, 5 vols., LCL (London: William Heinemann, 1932–1951) is possible, λίθος ordinarily refers to stones or jewels rather than a precious metal of any kind, and it appears at times alongside a word for "silver" in distinction from it (e.g., in Acts 17:29; 1 Cor 3:12; Rev 18:12). The correspondence is in any case less precise than in any of the texts in the table, each of which has a word specifically meaning "silver." Seneca, *Ep.* 115.5 includes the pairing *auro argentoque*, but with reference to objects offered to gods, not to the materials from which idols are made.

pairing is absent from texts extensively describing the views of Stoics, such as Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*; and Plutarch, *On Stoic Self-Contradiction*. By contrast, Jewish scriptural texts frequently associate both gold and silver with idols, including outside of this polemic pattern.⁶¹

God's control over peoples or nations and universal accountability to God do not appear explicitly in the texts in the second table, but much of the rest of the pattern remains the same. By including these two elements, the Areopagus speech's content is more like the pattern as it appears in scriptural texts than in texts contemporary with Acts. One element of the Areopagus speech that does not appear to be typical of these Jewish texts mentioning idolatry is that of the human race as the offspring of God in 17:28–29. As mentioned above, however, in Jeremiah 2–3 addressing a deity as a father indicates one's allegiance, whether to a wooden or stone idol in 2:37 or to Yahweh in 3:4, 19. Luke 3:38 also expresses the ideas of the human race as begotten by God and having all come through one man.

These correspondences are more specific, greater in number, and more frequent than those proposed for Stoicism, and they occur together in concise texts. They thus appear to indicate that this Jewish polemical pattern has a stronger influence on the structure and content of the speech than Stoicism or other Greek philosophical thought.

5.4.1.2 *The Function of the Jewish Polemic Pattern*

The correspondence between the content of the Areopagus speech and the Jewish polemic pattern directs the purpose and interpretation of the speech. The Jewish polemics consistently function to advance the unique identity of the God of Israel and often stress that no other deities exist aside from him. What they deny to idols and other deities they affirm of

⁶¹ In addition to the texts in the table, see Karl Helmut Singer, *Die Metalle Gold, Silber, Bronze, Kupfer und Eisen im Alten Testament und ihre Symbolik*, FB 43 ([Würzburg?]: Echter Verlag, 1980), 58, 80–81, 162, 169, 174–75, who notes the common pairing of these two metals for idols and who provides lists for the association of each metal with idols.

Israel's God.⁶² Components of the uniqueness of Israel's God that these passages frequently stress are his activities of creation, help or salvation for his people, and judgment.⁶³ A clear line does not always distinguish between the latter two, since his judgment against enemies of his people is a means by which he acts to help or save his people, and positive judgment on behalf of his people functions likewise. While creation and judgment do not appear in every text in the table using the polemic pattern, where they do appear, as they do in the majority of the scriptural texts, they function to present the uniqueness of Israel's God.

A summary of the presentation of creation and judgment in the texts above demonstrates this. Psalm 96 opens with praise of Yahweh in verses 1–3 before the first comparison between Yahweh and other deities in 96:4 as objects of fear. The reason for fearing Yahweh rather than other gods follows in 96:5: Yahweh's activity of creation distinguishes him from the empty deities of other nations. The only other reason the psalm gives for fear is that Yahweh judges, which the psalm highlights when it speaks of other nations again in 96:10 and as it climaxes with *לפני יהוה כי בא כי בא לשפט הארץ ישפט-תבל* (96:13). Thus, Yahweh is different from other gods because he created and because, as the one who judges, he deserves fear. This psalm is not a polemic only against idols, but against all gods besides Yahweh.

The primary contrast in Psalm 115 between Yahweh and the gods of other nations is that, while those gods can do nothing (115:4–7), Yahweh is capable of doing anything he desires (115:3). The psalm specifies the actions of helping and blessing his people in 115:9–

⁶² Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, trans. James D. Martin (London: SCM Press, 1972), 182.

⁶³ E.g., exclusive worship in 2 *En.* 66:2 accompanied by deliverance of the righteous from judgment in 65:11 (A) = 66:7 (J). Another clear example is Jer 10:6.

15, which concludes by designating him as עֹשֶׂה שְׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ, emphasizing his uniqueness through his activity of creation. Yahweh acts, while other deities do not.

Calls to praise frame Psalm 135 in verses 1–3 and 19–21, with inner sections describing Yahweh in 4–14 and idols of the nations in 15–18. Unlike Psalm 15, Psalm 135 designates the deities of other nations specifically as idols, עֲצַבֵּי הַגּוֹיִם.⁶⁴ Like Psalm 115, it affirms Yahweh’s superiority to all other gods through his ability to do as he desires in any part of creation in 135:5–6. Its survey of Yahweh’s acts concludes with enduring veneration because of his judgment in 135:13–14. The placement of Yahweh’s judgment here juxtaposes it to the presentation of the materiality and consequent inability of idols to do anything in 135:15–17. While idols do not act, Yahweh judges.

Isaiah 2 is part of an oracle calling for repentance and warning of destruction that extends through Isaiah 2–5. This oracle opens with a call to return to Yahweh before elaborating the sins of Judah from which it must turn, including idolatry. It tells of how Yahweh will judge Judah for its sins with the result of Yahweh alone being exalted. Isaiah 2 twice contrasts the rejection of idols with the exaltation of Yahweh that his judgment will bring about. Thus, וְהָאֱלִילִים כָּלִיל תַּחֲלֶף in 2:17 immediately leads to וְהָאֱלִילִים כָּלִיל תַּחֲלֶף in 2:18, and 2:20–21 describes people neglecting idols that do nothing to help them because of their terror before Yahweh. As in Psalm 135, while idols do nothing, Yahweh judges.

Isaiah 37:16–20 distinguishes Yahweh as the only true God through his activity in creation in its description in 37:16 and in judgment through what it requests and through the prayer’s outcome in the continuation of the narrative. In 37:16 Hezekiah addresses Yahweh

⁶⁴ The Greek rendering of the phrase as τὰ εἰδωλα τῶν ἐθνῶν may extend the meaning of a critique merely of idols to foreign deities generally in that εἰδωλον ordinarily denotes a phantom or form without substance but comes to have a particular application to idols in the Greek Pentateuch. See Robert Hayward, “Observations on Idols in Septuagint Pentateuch,” in Barton, *Idolatry*, 40–57, esp. 41–45.

as את־הוא האלהים לבדך לכל ממלכות הארץ אתה עשית את־השמים ואת־הארץ. Hezekiah recounts how Assyria has destroyed the idols of other nations כי לא אלהים המה כי אם־מעשה ידי־אדם עץ (37:19), and he requests salvation in verse 20 in order that all the earth's kingdoms would recognize Yahweh's singularity. The answer to this prayer is punishment, the administration of a sentence of judgment, through killing 185,000 Assyrians in 37:36.

The emphasis on the singularity of Yahweh in contrast to other deities as false in Isaiah 40–41, 44–46 is well-known, as is Yahweh's distinguishing activity of creation in these chapters.⁶⁵ Isaiah 44–46 in particular shows examples of this declaration of the God of Israel as the only God in 44:6–8; 45:5, 6, 14, 18, 21, 22; and 46:9.⁶⁶ The emphasis of these chapters lies primarily, however, on his creation, on his foreknowledge, and on his election and deliverance of his people rather than on his judgment to distinguish him from other deities. These passages assume throughout, however, that the exile of Judah results from judgment and that the deliverance of Judah comes about through judgment of its enemies.

Jeremiah 10:6 resembles statements in the passages from Isaiah in expressing Yahweh's uniqueness, and 10:7 repeats מאין כמוך from 10:6 to stress his superiority to any rulers. These statements follow an opening instruction not to fear what the nations fear in

⁶⁵ Knut Holter, *Second Isaiah's Idol-Fabrication Passages*, BBET 28 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995) draws attention to the parallelism between Yahweh and those who make idols in Isa 40:19–20; 41:6–7; 44:9–20; and 46:6–7 and argues that this parallelism serves as a polemic against makers of idols who have put themselves in the place of Yahweh by their activities. Notice especially the parallel verbs he lists on 122–26 and, e.g., the clear statement of his thesis for 41:6–7 on 101–102. This does not detract, however, from a contrast also between Yahweh and the idols themselves, and both contrasts serve to present Yahweh as the only legitimate deity and object of reverence, distinguished both from idols and their makers by his creation of the world.

⁶⁶ While Holter, *Second Isaiah's Idol-Fabrication Passages*, 196–98 rightly observes that the question מי כמוני in Isa 44:7 appears in Jer 49:19; 50:44 to contrast Yahweh with human rulers, the conclusion that in Isa 44:7 it only contrasts Yahweh with those who make idols and not with the idols themselves does not follow. The surrounding verses in 44:6, 8 emphasize Yahweh's singular and exclusive divinity vis-à-vis other supposed deities.

10:2 and a criticism of the materiality of idols and their inability to act in 10:3–5. Verses 8 and 9 strongly reject idols on the basis of their materiality, leading to a contrast with Yahweh as living and judging in verse 10. Although קצף and זעם in 10:10 denote anger and thus not specifically judgment itself, Jeremiah 10 appears within a frame of Yahweh punishing both Judah and other nations. This becomes particularly clear in 10:24–25, where the prophet asks for Yahweh’s משפט for himself and requests God’s wrath against other nations for how they have wronged his people. Verses 11–16 then contrast Yahweh with idols in his activity of creation. Verse 15 indicates his judgment of idols by declaring, בעת פקדתה יאבדו.⁶⁷ The second passage in Jeremiah, 51:15–19, repeats material from the earlier passage, including this phrase. An extensive announcement of Babylon’s destruction, including the visitation of its idols, follows in 20–58.

Of the two remaining scriptural passages in the table, Ezekiel 16 does not specifically present judgment as distinguishing Yahweh from other gods. This passage, however, less fully reflects the pattern of polemic, having three of the eleven elements in the table plus a context of judgment. The absence of this emphasis is in keeping with the reason for mentioning idols, specifically, as an illustration of the extent of Judah’s sin. The idols do nothing, including to resist their destruction, which the passage implies through Judah’s loss of everything mentioned in the first part of the chapter. Although Habakkuk 2:18–20 also does not explicitly mention judgment as distinguishing Yahweh, after dismissing all idols as unable to do anything, the contrasting call for silence before Yahweh in 2:20 occurs after the announcements of his punishment for the sin of Judah and Babylon in all of the book preceding these verses. This suggests an implicit contrast between his activity of judgment

⁶⁷ See also on פקדה with a time designation for Yahweh’s judgment Isa 10:3; Jer 8:12; 11:23; 23:12; 46:21; 48:44; 50:27; 51:18; and Hos 9:7.

with the consequent requirement to revere his holiness in silence in 2:20 and idols' lack of activity.

The texts in the second table also emphasize the unique identity and singularity of Israel's God as the only legitimate deity. Connections between this emphasis and the activities of creation and judgment are less frequent or less direct than in the scriptural texts, but they still appear. *Bel and the Dragon* 1–22 does not mention judgment. The principal contrast in it is that Daniel's God is living whereas Bel is only material and does nothing (esp. 5–7), but verse 5 also mentions creation. Epistle of Jeremiah 53 mentions judgment as one of an extended list of activities that idols do not perform since they are not true gods. *Jubilees* 12:2–5, although it mentions God creating in verse 4 and rejects idols, does not directly exclude the existence of others gods. Shortly later in 12:18, however, Abram expresses his exclusive allegiance to Yahweh and again cites his activity as creator. *Jubilees* 20 again contrasts Abraham's God with idols as false gods, but it does not highlight creation and judgment as distinguishing him.

While *2 Enoch* 33:7–8 does not mention judgment, it emphatically stresses Israel's God as the only God and does so in connection with him being the creator of everything. Likewise, *2 Enoch* 66 opens with a call to worship only Israel's God and emphasizes that he is the creator of everything as it continues. The mention of judgment in 66:7 (J) assumes that Israel's God judges and other deities do not. The closest connections between the unique identity and singularity of Israel's God in the texts in the table appear in the last two, which, along with Epistle of Jeremiah, contain the most elements of the pattern. *Sibylline Oracles* 3:8–45 states the singularity of God and that he is living in 3:11 in contrast to idols, stressing that he is the creator throughout (esp. 3:10, 20–28, 35). Because he is the creator of everything, the passage condemns veneration of animals and idols in 3:30–32, which has resulted from not having regard for the true God and from forgetting his judgment in 3:33–

34. Statements of his singularity also appear in 3:629 and 760. Wisdom 13–15 rejects all idols and the veneration of anything in creation, such as the astral bodies. It assumes the distinction of God from them in his activity of creation. Although it does not stress judgment as distinguishing Yahweh in his uniqueness, where judgment appears in 14:11, 30–31, it does so to speak of the punishment of those who venerate idols. The condemnation of venerating anything in creation at the beginning of chapter 13 implies that this extends to venerating anything besides the one God of Israel. Wisdom 14:30–31 makes clear that regardless of by what people swear, and therefore venerate, God’s punishment for their sin in idolatry will overtake them.⁶⁸

Neither Philo, *De decalogo* nor *De specialibus legibus* mentions judgment, and they follow the polemic pattern less fully than some other texts. They are significant, however, in that Philo directs both works to a Greek audience. Although Philo assimilated much Greek philosophical thought, including from Stoicism, he uses the same Jewish pattern of polemic that Acts 17:22–31 uses when he wishes to distinguish his view of his God and of idols from ideas familiar to his Greek audience. These texts not only dismiss idols, but veneration of anything, including the world, as divine besides the one creator God of Israel. *De decalogo* 65 is illustrative of the emphasis and purpose: *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν παράγγελμα καὶ παραγγελμάτων ιερώτατον στηλιτεύσωμεν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ἕνα τὸν ἀνωτάτω νομίζειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν θεόν· δόξα δ’ ἡ πολύθεος μὴδ’ ὧτων ψαυέτω καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδόλως ἀνδρὸς εἰωθότος ζητεῖν ἀλήθειαν.* *De decalogo* 53 targets Stoicism when it specifies deification of the *kosmos* as false in contrast to the worship of the one creator God whose exclusive worship Moses’ Law requires.

⁶⁸ Neh 9:6 also stresses the singularity of Yahweh as creator. The prayer in Neh 9 does not emphasize polemic against idolatry, although it mentions the golden calf in 9:18.

Given this pattern, the Areopagus speech would seem to advance one figure, the God whom Paul proclaims, as the true God in contrast to all idols and as the one who creates, is living, holds universal sovereignty, and judges. When the speech reflects on his judgment, however, it places Jesus into the activity unique to Israel's God in the pattern the speech appropriates. At the same time, it still identifies judgment as the activity of God: μέλλει κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν. God judges, but he judges ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν in a speech that, at least if it is consistent with the pattern of polemic it appears to follow, stresses the uniqueness of God as judge in contrast to any other supposed deity.⁶⁹

5.4.2 Psalm 96, Coming for Judgment, and Scriptural Enactment

The second feature of how the Areopagus speech presents Jesus' judgment as indicative of divine authority is its specific correspondence to Psalm 96 (LXX 95). Psalm 96, as shown in the table above, exhibits the pattern of Jewish polemic against idols and other deities. The particular expression about judgment in 17:31 reinforces the christological significance of Jesus' place in the polemic pattern that the previous section suggested. Many recognize that the phrase μέλλει κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ nearly reproduces תִּשְׁפֹּט תָּבֵל בְּצֶדֶק (Gk. κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ), a phrase that Psalms 9:9; 96:13 (LXX 95:13); and 98:9 (LXX 97:9) share.⁷⁰ Beyond sharing a phrase with these three psalms, the speech corresponds specifically to Psalm 96 through other similarities of expression in Psalm

⁶⁹ Notably, Acts 17:22–31 does not have the purpose of strengthening national identity, as Yitzhaq Feder, “The Aniconic Tradition, Deuteronomy 4, and the Politics of Israelite Identity,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 251–74, proposes for the scriptural aniconic tradition. Rather, it serves a universal appeal, calling on non-Jews to recognize that what it says about God requires their repentance since he is a universal creator, sovereign, and judge.

⁷⁰ E.g., Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 102; Édouard des Places, “Actes 17,30–31,” *Bib* 52 (1971): 531; Dibelius, “Paul on the Areopagus,” 56; Haenchen, *die Apostelgeschichte*, 505; Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 450; Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 502. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2:243 mentions only Ps 95:13 LXX among the three but without explanation for why he mentions only this one.

96 and Acts 17:22–31 and the function of Paul’s activity in Athens as an enactment of what Psalm 96 describes. The series of correspondences between Psalm 96 and Acts 17:22–31 do not establish direct use of Psalm 96 in the Areopagus speech. It does, however, suggest that the Areopagus speech displays the influence of the collection of ideas and expressions that appears in Psalm 96. In this way, the role of Jesus’ future coming for judgment in the speech pairs with Yahweh’s coming for judgment in the psalm.

5.4.2.1 The Content of Acts 17:22–31 Corresponds Specifically to Psalm 96

First, although the concept of God judging righteously is common, the phrasing in Acts 17:31 distinctively corresponds to the three psalms mentioned. The only verses in Rahlfs’ LXX in which the phrase ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ modifies a form of κρίνω are Leviticus 19:15; Psalms 9:9; 71:2 (Heb 72:2); 95:13 (Heb 96:13); 97:9 (Heb 98:9); Sirach 45:26; and Psalms of Solomon 8:24. Among these, the only places where οἰκουμένη is the object of judgment are Psalm 9:9; 95:13; and 97:9. The phrase ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ modifies a form of κρίνω only elsewhere in the New Testament in Revelation 19:11, suggesting that it is also not a common traditional Christian phrase in the earliest Christian literature.

Second, while each of the three psalms shares an emphasis on other nations and peoples, the reign of Yahweh, and Yahweh’s universal judgment, and while the phrase may evoke all three psalms, the correspondence between Psalm 96 and the Areopagus speech is stronger than with the other two. Psalm 9 features words for Yahweh’s judgment in 9:5, 8–9, 17, and 20, as well as in 26 and 39 (Heb 10:5, 18) in the Greek combination of Psalms 9 and 10 of the Hebrew psalter. When it speaks of the nations, however, it presents them as the enemies of the psalmist and objects of Yahweh’s vengeance in judgment (9:6–7, 9, 12–13, 16, 18, 20, 21, as well as LXX 9:37 [Heb 10:16]). This psalm does not follow the idol polemic pattern nor does it mention creation, other gods, or idolatry. Psalm 98 also emphasizes the nations, but here they appear positively as those who will see Yahweh’s

salvation. Verse 3 is notable for Acts in light of *ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς* in the programmatic statement in Acts 1:8 and the same phrase in the quotation of Isaiah 49:6 in Acts 13:47.⁷¹

This psalm mentions judgment in its conclusion in verse 9, but does not say anything about creation, other gods, or idolatry. Aside from its theme of proclamation of Yahweh to the nations and the phrase about Yahweh's judgment in verse 9, its parallels with the Areopagus speech are slim.

The correspondence between Psalm 96 and the Areopagus speech is stronger, not only because Psalm 96 follows the idol polemic pattern, but also because of its particular expressions, the arrangement of its ideas, and the role of the nations in the psalm. The table above shows four common elements from the idol polemic pattern: God as creator (Ps 96:5; Acts 17:24), sovereignty of God expressed as lordship or kingship (Ps 96:9; Acts 17:24), universal accountability to God (Ps 96:9–10, 13; Acts 17:30–31), and judgment language (Ps 96:10, 13; Acts 17:31). The manner in which the two passages present these common elements strengthen the correspondence of these two texts. Both present God as creator using similar language as they denounce idols. The most direct statements are *וַיְהוֹה שְׁמַיִם עָשָׂה* (ὁ δὲ κύριος τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν) in Psalm 96:5 and *ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ* in Acts 17:24.⁷² Both of these statements follow assessment of gods of other nations as idols. The statement in Psalm 96 follows contrast of Yahweh and other gods in 96:4–5a as *אֱלֹהִים* (δαιμόνια/εἰδωλα),⁷³ whereas that in Acts responds to Paul's provocation at seeing

⁷¹ On the programmatic function of Luke 24:46–48 and Acts 1:8, see, e.g., Dupont, “Le salut des Gentils et la signification théologique du Livre des Actes,” 139–41; Rowe, *World Upside Down*, 120–22.

⁷² Greek text of Psalms from A. Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, vol. 10 of *Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931), 247.

⁷³ Hebrew *אֱלֹהִים* becomes *δαιμόνια* in Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 247 with the note *δαιμονια* (sic etiam Tert. et Cyp.) = *אֱלֹהִים* *ειδωλα δαιμονιων* Sa et Iust. Mart. et Iren. (S.-St. 2, p. 205. 208), *δαιμονιων εισιν ειδωλα* Clem. Alex. (ibid. p. 209): *ειδωλα ex loco parallelo* Par. I 16₂₅, ubi *ειδωλα* = *אֱלֹהִים*.

κατείδωλον οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν (17:16), to the misunderstanding of Paul as a proclaimer of ξένων δαιμονίων (17:18), and to Paul's assessment of the Athenians as κατὰ πάντα ὥς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους (17:22). In both, the contrast is sharp and the assessment is the same.⁷⁴

Third, both emphasize God's establishment of the world and the consequent universal accountability of peoples to God. Psalm 96:9 expresses this accountability by saying השתחוּ ליהוה בהדרת־קדשׁ חילו מפניו בל־הארץ (προσκυνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν αὐλῇ ἁγία αὐτοῦ, σαλευθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ),⁷⁵ while Acts 17:26–27 says that God ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παντός προσώπου τῆς γῆς for them to seek him. Psalm 96:10 associates these two ideas by juxtaposing them in an announcement of Yahweh's sovereignty to the nations. Fourth, both conclude by declaring judgment of the world in righteousness. In addition to using nearly identical phrasing as already noted, the psalm contains the same idea in 96:10c: ידִין עַמִּים בְּמִשְׁרִים (κρινεῖ λαοὺς ἐν εὐθύτητι). Both in 96:10 and 96:13, the addition of בְּמִשְׁרִים and בַּצֶּדֶק make the correspondence clearer. בַּצֶּדֶק modifies a word for judging only in Leviticus 19:15, where it appears in a series of commands, in the three psalms sharing the phrase with Acts 17:31 (Ps 9:9; 96:13; 98:9), in Psalm 72:2, and in Isaiah 11:4. These two last texts speak of the judgment of a davidic king. Jesus's identity as messiah descended from David may have encouraged bringing together his activity in judgment with God's judgment in Acts 17:31 in light of the attested messianic interpretation of Isaiah 11:4 and Psalm 72.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The association of idols with demons in Deut 31:17, 21; Ps 106:37–38 may have resulted in the rendering of אֱלִילִים as δαιμόνια. Similar association appears in 1 Cor 10:20–21 and Rev 9:20. Note also the combination in Justin, *Dial.* 73.2.

⁷⁵ Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 247.

⁷⁶ On the messianic interpretation of Ps 72, see Craig C. Broyles, "The Redeeming King: Psalm 72's Contribution to the Messianic Ideal," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 23–40, esp. 33–34 on *Ps. Sol.* 17.

Finally, both present the nations as the audience of proclamation of divine salvation and as the possible recipients of that salvation, as the next section elaborates further.

5.4.2.2 *The Athens Episode Enacts What Psalm 96 Describes*

The Athens episode in Acts appears to enact what Psalm 96 describes, further demonstrating the interpretative significance of the correspondence between the psalm and Acts 17.⁷⁷ The psalm praises Israel's God and calls for telling of his salvation, glory, and wonderful acts among other peoples and nations. This is what the protagonists of Acts do, and Luke-Acts highlights the preaching of salvation to other nations in fulfillment of scripture as a prominent theme. Broadly, all such proclamation in Acts continues the fulfillment of what Jesus says was written in the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms in Luke 24:44–47, which ends with *καὶ κηρυχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*. Acts 17:30–31 recalls this when it calls for repentance in view of God's coming judgment in Jesus.

Acts also presents the proclamation of the message about Jesus as enactment of specific scriptural texts, both explicitly and implicitly. Examples of such scriptural enactment include Acts 13:46–47 with its quotation of Isaiah 49:6. Contrary to frequent interpretation of 13:47 as identifying Paul and Barnabas as the servant and light from Isaiah 49:6, this quotation may rather present them as the means through which the role of Jesus as servant is fulfilled.⁷⁸ This interpretation is in keeping with the progression within Isaiah itself in which

⁷⁷ Thanks to David M. Moffitt for use of the term “enactment.”

⁷⁸ The former interpretation appears in, e.g., Conzelmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 78; Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 398; Pervo, *Acts*, 343 (Pervo seems to limit its referent to Paul despite the ἡμῖν in 13:47); and Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 416. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 1:658 views Paul here as the light of the Gentiles because he proclaims Jesus, who is the light of the Gentiles. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 364, however, understands the quotation as originally addressed to Israel as the servant, and thus applicable to Paul and Barnabas as Jewish Christians.

the “servants” of Isaiah 55–66 carry out the work of the servant, as Michael A. Lyons notes.⁷⁹

The commission of Paul in Acts 26:18 uses Isaiah 42:7 similarly. The episode of the Ethiopian eunuch, which enacts Isaiah 56:3–5, is another example.⁸⁰

In the case of Psalm 96, the elements of polemic against the gods of the nations appear in a context of praise of the God of Israel that calls for telling of his salvation, glory, and wonderful acts among other peoples and nations. This is what Paul does in the Athens episode when he encounters the idolatry of Athens. As the nations appear in Psalm 96 as beneficiaries of Yahweh’s salvation, the Athens episode functions in Acts as part of the extension of salvation to people from nations outside of Israel as the message about Jesus extends out to them (despite less positive response to Paul’s ministry in Athens than in some other locations in Acts). This leads to a final point concerning the speech’s correspondence to Psalm 96 and its christological significance.

5.4.2.3 *The Place of Jesus’ Judgment in Acts 17:31 and Yahweh’s Judgment in Psalm 96*

How does the correspondence between the Areopagus speech and Psalm 96 inform Jesus’ activity in judgment? In Psalm 96:13, the declaration of Yahweh’s judgment appears in an announcement of his coming. Throughout Luke-Acts, the anticipated time of judgment is the time when Jesus will come. Forms of *ἔρχομαι* appear for Jesus’ coming at the future time of judgment in 3:16 (esp. in light of 3:7, 9, 17); 9:26; 12:38, 39, 40; 18:18 (note *τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ* and *τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν* in 18:17–18). Given the correspondence to Psalm 96 that the phrase *μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ* in Acts 17:31 signals, Jesus’ coming for judgment in Acts 17:31 recalls the coming for

⁷⁹ Michael A. Lyons, “Paul and the Servant(s): Isaiah 49,6 in Acts 13,47,” *ETL* 89 (2013): 345–59, esp. 353–57.

⁸⁰ See Simon David Buttica, *L’identité de l’église dans les actes des apôtres: de la restauration d’Israël à la conquête universelle*, BZNW 174 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 214–29.

judgment in Psalm 96:13, particularly since the repetition of **כִּי בֹא** emphasizes this coming as the climax of the psalm: **לפני יהוה כי בא כי בא לשפט הארץ ישפט־תבל בצדק ועמים באמונתו** (πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου ὅτι ἔρχεται ὅτι ἔρχεται κρῖναι τὴν γῆν κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ λαοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ). The coming of Yahweh to judge the world in righteousness in Psalm 96 becomes the coming of Jesus for judgment in Acts 17:31.⁸¹ Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 73.1–6 provides an example of early Christian reception drawing on the potential for this christological interpretation of Psalm 96. Justin presents the entirety of the psalm as about Jesus reigning as **κύριος** and **θεός**, including quotation of verse 13 and interpreting what distinguishes him from the false deities/demons in verse 5 to be his death and resurrection.

5.4.3 The Object of Paul's Proclamation in Athens

The Athens episode presents the speech's audience as having heard Paul speak of Jesus prior to 17:31, but a fluid shift in Jesus and God as the object of proclamation appears when moving from the narrative setting of the speech into the speech itself. This shift emerges through (1) the perception of Paul by the philosophers and (2) the use of the phrase **ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν** in the Athens episode. First, the Areopagus speech is Paul's response to the request to explain his teaching, including what he has been saying in Athens about Jesus. Paul's audience in the narrative has already heard Paul **τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν** **εὐηγγελίζετο** in 17:18. Furthermore, those who ask Paul to speak, and therefore those listening to him, are the same people who say **ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι** because of what Paul has been saying about Jesus and the resurrection. The philosophers are not referring only to the God of Judaism by **ξένων δαιμονίων**, but they are at least referring to

⁸¹ Ps 98:9 similarly precedes the shared phrase about judgment with **לפני־יהוה כי בא לשפט הארץ**.

Jesus. First, Judaism was known in Athens. Verse 17 locates some of Paul's activity ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. For the narrative to highlight the Jewish presence in Athens by mentioning the synagogue and then to present philosophers regularly in Athens as perceiving Paul as introducing new deities would be inconsistent. Second, ξένων διαμονίων is plural, so it does not refer only to the God of Judaism as usually understood. While hearing of one new deity might draw the assumption for some familiar with a Greek polytheistic system that others would follow, they would already be familiar with Paul as a Jew speaking of the God of Judaism. Third, the reason for the philosophers' assessment of Paul is that τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο. Many commentators interpret this as expressing the misunderstanding of the philosophers that Paul is proclaiming a pair of deities, a male deity named Jesus and a female deity named Anastasis.⁸² This interpretation is possible, but not necessary. Jervell considers it "kaum stichhaltig," objecting because Paul appears proclaiming a Christian message rather than as a philosopher and because of the response in 17:32 to Paul's mention of resurrection.⁸³ The contrast, however, between the invitation for Paul to speak in 17:19–20 and the response in 17:32 suggests that their understanding of what Paul is saying about the resurrection at the time of the invitation is not the same as what he clarifies to them in the speech. The connection between the assessment of Paul and his proclamation indicates that the philosophers understand at least Jesus to be among the ξένων δαιμονίων. Anastasis may be another, but it may also be the grounds for their view that Paul is

⁸² E.g., Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 497 with references; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2:236; and Bruce W. Winter, "On Introducing Gods to Athens: An Alternative Reading of Acts 17:18–20," *TynBul* 47 (1996): 80. This interpretation appears as early as John Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* 38. Identifying Jesus and Anastasis as two deities in the minds of those who encountered Paul does not explain why those who encounter Paul understand Jesus to be a deity. This perception must be tied to the content of Paul's teaching, even if they misunderstand it, such that the speech that follows further explains Jesus, whom they perceive to be a deity, by speaking of his judgment. D and gig omit the phrase, which appears in form like a gloss, but its presence throughout the rest of the textual witnesses argues for its priority, as in the view of Pervo, *Acts*, 427–28.

⁸³ Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 444.

proclaiming Jesus as a strange *daimon*: Jesus' own resurrection may be indicative to them of divinity.

Second, some of the philosophers who encounter Paul think he is a καταγγελεύς of ξένων δαιμονίων in 17:18, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο, but when Paul speaks he says of the Unknown God in 17:23, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. The philosophers think that when Paul proclaims Jesus he is proclaiming a deity, and Paul says that he is proclaiming the God whom they do not know. The exact phrasing for Paul's proclamation in 17:23, ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, appears earlier in the same narrative unit in 17:3. In the earlier verse, however, the object of proclamation is Jesus in an emphatic statement: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. The pronoun + ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν construction in two verses in such close proximity in the same narrative unit is hardly coincidental. A search in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database for all occurrences of the form καταγγέλλω in Greek literature, regardless of surrounding words, provides sixty-one results.⁸⁴ The two occurrences in Acts 17 are the earliest, the only ones in New Testament texts, and the only ones from the first century. Of the remaining fifty-nine, it occurs twenty-eight times in the phrase ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. Of these, twenty-five provide a marked quotation or direct reference to Acts 17, leaving only three occurrences of the phrase in Greek literature that are not related directly to Acts 17, indicating its distinctiveness.⁸⁵

These observations alone do not demonstrate that Luke presents Paul as equating Jesus with the God he proclaims in Athens, but they further demonstrate the fluidity with

⁸⁴ *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library*, ed. Maria C. Pantelia (University of California, Irvine). Cited 27 May 2016. Online: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu> (hereafter cited as *TLG*).

⁸⁵ The three remaining occurrences of ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν appear in *Acts Thom.* 86, 101; and *Vita sancti Auxibii* 16. The surrounding part of the last of these texts includes many phrases from New Testament texts, including Acts, so the phrase may come from Acts 17, particularly since people abandon idolatry as a result of Auxibius' speech.

which Luke-Acts presents Jesus as it does God in a speech highlighting judgment. Among the quotations, particularly notable are the second in Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* and the third in *Catena in Acta*, both of which explicitly identify Jesus as the God whom Paul proclaims in Acts 17:23.⁸⁶

5.4.4 Acts 17:31 Presents Jesus as Judging with God's Final Judgment

As in Acts 10:42, in which Jesus judges with comprehensive final judgment, in 17:31 Jesus appears to judge with God's final judgment. God judges, but he judges ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν such that the judgment of this man is God's final judgment. This contrasts to any clear indication of this for the eschatological judgment figures in the pseudepigraphal and Qumran literature considered. These figures judge righteously with divine approval and commission, but their judgment is distinct from the final judgment of God.

Acts 17:31 itself could allow for a distinction between Jesus' judgment and another final judgment by God. Acts 17, however, offers three indications that the judgment of Jesus in 17:31 is the final future judgment of the living and the dead at the time of the resurrection. First, the preceding presentation of Jesus' judgment in the book, including in 10:42, leads the audience of Acts to understand the judgment in 17:31 to be the same as that preceding in 10:42, regardless of what the narrative audience of the speech would understand. This point depends on approaching Acts 10 and 17 as consistent in their presentation of Jesus' judgment. Second, 17:31 emphasizes that this judgment will occur on a set future day that God has determined. This also does not exclude the possibility of a distinction between Jesus' judgment and God's final judgment, but it does locate Jesus' judgment at a specified future time. Third, the future judgment in the speech provides the reason for present repentance of the speech's audience, indicating that its audience will be subject to this future judgment. For

⁸⁶ PG 69.200.43–48; Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 3:290.

its present hearers to experience this future judgment would require either that they continue to live until it occurs or they experience it following death. Since Acts 10:42 has already spoken of Jesus' appointment to judge the living and the dead, indicating he judges with God's final judgment, the specification of a future day on which God will judge the speech's present audience suggests that 17:31 speaks of the same judgment.⁸⁷

5.5 Jesus' Judgment in Acts 17:31 Expresses Messianic Identity

In addition to suggesting Jesus' divine authority in judgment, Acts 17:31 in its place within the Areopagus speech and the Athens episode also suggests that Jesus' judgment expresses his messianic identity. This is not obvious from the speech in isolation, and it requires a distinction between the understanding of the narrative audience of the speech and that of the implied audience of Acts. Acts does not attribute a knowledge of Jewish ideas to the narrative audience of the speech and gives no indication that the book's implied audience is supposed to understand the narrative audience as adhering to any Jewish ideas. Nevertheless, for the audience of Acts, what Paul says becomes his way of proclaiming Jesus as the messiah to his audience without using either the term *χριστός* or assuming the narrative audience's knowledge of Judaism. Paul says of Jesus what the audience of Acts could understand to be unique to the messiah in that (1) Jesus' appointment associates his judgment with his identity as the messiah, (2) the Areopagus speech may serve as an instance of apostolic testimony, which in Acts centers on Jesus as the messiah, and (3) the logic in the speech whereby Jesus' resurrection demonstrates his role in judgment is consistent with arguments in other speeches for Jesus' identity as the messiah. Each of these arguments alone may not conclusively demonstrate that Jesus' judgment in the Areopagus speech identifies

⁸⁷ As Hans Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas*, 3rd ed., BHT 17 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960), 191 notes, the general resurrection here, as also in Luke 14:14; Acts 24:15, is the time of judgment.

him as the messiah, but cumulatively they support the expression of Jesus' messianic identity through his judgment in a manner consistent with Jesus' judgment in Acts 10:42.

5.5.1 Jesus' Appointment Associates His Judgment with Messianic Identity

The previous chapter discussed the significance of appointment in Acts 10:42 and in Luke-Acts leading up to the Cornelius episode. Acts 17:31 is the only other place in Luke-Acts using the same expression for appointment of Jesus when it says ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν. The observations concerning the inseparability of Jesus' divine appointment and his messianic identity in Luke-Acts in discussion of Acts 10:42 also apply here. While the grammar of Acts 17:31 does not state that God's appointment of Jesus is to his role as judge with the same directness as 10:42, the appointment in 17:31 is clearly one to his role in judgment. The speech says five things about Jesus: (1) God will judge the world in righteousness in him, (2) he is a man, (3) God has appointed him, (4) God has given πίστις to all by his resurrection, and (5) God raised him from the dead. The final part of the sentence, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν expresses a means of demonstration, not a position or activity to which God appoints Jesus. Jesus' resurrection, therefore, is not the object of his appointment. The only other position or activity in the sentence to which God could appoint Jesus is to be the one by whom he would judge the world. If God appointed Jesus to the position as judge in order for God to judge the world by Jesus, Jesus does not merely administer the sentence of God's judgment but actively judges, doing so because, in Luke-Acts, God has appointed him as messiah.

5.5.2 The Content of Apostolic Testimony Is Jesus' Messianic Identity

The Areopagus speech does not appear as Paul's first speaking in Athens. In 17:17 he speaks in the synagogue and in the agora. Acts 17:18 summarizes what Paul is saying: τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο. The narrative presents the speech as further

explanation of the preaching of Jesus and the resurrection, using common words for apostolic proclamation in Acts.⁸⁸ In 10:42, the other verse that speaks of Jesus' appointment for judgment, the narration of Jesus' life in the speech leads finally to the command in 10:42: *κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι*. The statement, *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὠρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν* in 10:42 is the content of this testimony. As anticipated in Jesus' commission of witnesses in Luke 24:46–48, recalled in Acts 1:8, apostolic testimony in Acts concerns Jesus as the messiah. Jesus says what was written in the Scriptures about τὸν *χριστόν*, but by calling his hearers witnesses, he claims that what has happened to him in his suffering and resurrection are the things that have happened to the messiah. With this as the content of testimony, Jesus' appointment as judge in Acts 10:42, repeated in 17:31, expresses the content of apostolic witness. It expresses the content of witness, first, because to say that Jesus is appointed to this role as judge is to identify him as the messiah and, second, because in Luke 24:47 this testimony includes forgiveness through repentance, a repentance for which 17:30–31 calls in view of Jesus' judgment.

Another observation concerning the content of apostolic testimony in Luke-Acts may support judgment as messianic activity in Acts 17:30–31. Insofar as Luke 24:46–47 describes the content of apostolic testimony and Acts portrays its protagonists as giving this testimony, if Jesus' judgment is messianic in Acts 17:31, Acts 17:30–31 includes the four elements of that testimony: Jesus' death, Jesus' resurrection, repentance for forgiveness in judgment, and Jesus' identity as the messiah. The death of Jesus appears in the speech in that the resurrection of Jesus indicates his death. While the speech does not explicitly mention forgiveness, its call to repentance because of coming judgment implies that those who repent will not face the same outcome in judgment as those who do not. Jesus' identity as the

⁸⁸ See *εὐαγγελίζω* in 5:42; 8:4, 12, 25, 35, 40; 10:36; 11:20; 13:32; 14:7, 15, 21; 15:35; and 16:10.

messiah is the core of this testimony in that Luke 24:46–47 relates each of the others to what would happen to the messiah and in his name. Acts does not contain any commitment to include all four elements of testimony from Luke 24:46–47 in every speech, but the concise inclusion of them in 17:30–31 if Jesus’ judgment expresses his messianic identity is notable. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, Acts summarizes the apostolic testimony as Jesus’ identity as the messiah.

5.5.3 The Logic of Demonstrating Jesus’ Judgment Associates It with Messianic Identity

In discussion of Acts 10:34–43, I argued that the continuity of appointment relating to Jesus’ messianic identity in Luke-Acts and the continuity of Jesus’ messianic identity as the content of apostolic proclamation indicate that designation of him as the one appointed as judge of the living and the dead expresses his messianic identity. A similar argument concerning what the resurrection indicates about Jesus applies in 17:31. God’s act of raising Jesus from the dead in 17:31 is the means of demonstrating or giving evidence, *πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν*.⁸⁹ Whichever verb in 17:31 this phrase modifies syntactically, it speaks either of demonstration that God will judge in Jesus or that he appointed Jesus as a man by whom he would judge.⁹⁰ In either case, it indicates both Jesus’ position and its associated activity, since if Jesus judges he has the position of the judge, and if Jesus has the position of

⁸⁹ Following the majority of commentators (e.g., Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, 2:853; Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 506; Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 450; Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2:243) and the use of *πίστις* with *παρέχω* in, e.g., Polybius, *Histories* 2.58; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.218; 15.260; *Ag. Ap.* 1.72; and Philo, *Opif.* 116 (and, similarly, Philo, *Decal.* 59; although see Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.43). Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 317 translates it as “proof” but notes that it may mean either assurance, citing Herodotus, *Persian Wars* 3.74, or proof, citing Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1173A and Josephus, *Ant.* 15.69. The distinction between “proof,” “evidence,” “assurance,” and “belief” in the use of *πίστις* is more fluid than simple English glosses allow. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.188, for example, uses *πίστις* as the object of *παρέχω* for belief arising from observing misfortune surrounding Herod, denoting belief arising from a cause thought to be evidence.

⁹⁰ Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 506 understands the object of proof to be Jesus’ election.

the judge he judges. Jesus' resurrection, therefore, proves that he will be the man by whom God will judge.

The Areopagus speech does not specify how the resurrection gives this proof, but other parts of Luke-Acts fill in this logical gap.⁹¹ Coming back to life does not in itself indicate that a person will be the one by whom God judges the world.⁹² This function of resurrection is particular to Jesus. More widely in Luke-Acts, the resurrection of Jesus may demonstrate his identity as messiah since the scriptures say that the messiah would rise from the dead. The summary of testimony in Luke 24:46–47, which affirms each of its elements are written about the messiah in the scriptures, includes resurrection of the messiah.⁹³ God also raises, and with his resurrection exalts, Jesus for the giving of repentance and forgiveness as the messiah, which, as in 10:42–43, are tied to Jesus' role as judge. In Peter's speech in Acts 2, the statement *καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός* in 2:36 follows from the claim that in Psalm 16 David *ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in 2:31 and *τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, οὗ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες* in 2:32. Similarly, Jesus' resurrection demonstrates in Acts 13:32–37 that he is the one of whom Psalms 2 and 16, which Acts 4:25–26 and 2:25–31 respectively use of Jesus as the messiah, speak and the one associated with promises related to David in Isaiah 55:3. If Jesus judges as the messiah, his resurrection may provide demonstration that he will judge since his resurrection demonstrates that he is the messiah. Expressed according to the law of syllogism,

⁹¹ Although he does not mention this example, Henry J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," in Jackson and Lake, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 5:407–410 notes as a characteristic of the speeches in Acts that they contain logical gaps like this that other parts of Acts fill.

⁹² God does not judge the world in the son of the widow in Luke 7 and the twelve-year old girl in Luke 8, for example, just because they come back to life, nor does he judge in all the people to be raised in the future general resurrection that Luke-Acts anticipates.

⁹³ As Johannes Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 22 notes, resurrection and ascension alone do not indicate messianic identity, but Luke 24:46–47 follows a presentation of Jesus as the messiah throughout Luke in which death without resurrection seems in Luke 24:21 to be the only reason for doubting his messianic identity.

- 1) If God resurrected Jesus, Jesus is the messiah.
- 2) If a person is the messiah, God appointed that person to judge the world.
- 3) Therefore, if God resurrected Jesus, God appointed Jesus to judge the world.

Acts 17:31 reflects statement 3), and other parts of Luke-Acts indicate statement 1) in the Lukan view of the resurrection. Supplying the unstated premise 2), that is, that the messiah is the appointed judge of the world, allows 3) to follow from 1). If, however, Jesus' judgment in 17:31 is not associated with his messianic identity, the reasoning of 17:31 remains unclear.

This reasoning resolves Gaventa's unnecessary separation of the function of the resurrection to demonstrate Jesus as the messiah and to demonstrate his role as judge. She views the resurrection as demonstrating his messianic identity in the speeches in chapters 2, 3, and 13 in distinction from demonstrating God's judgment through Jesus in the Areopagus speech.⁹⁴ If Jesus' judgment expresses his messianic identity, then the reasoning of Acts 17:31 is consistent with previous speeches, even if the speech does not explain its logic nor portray Paul as fully explaining its logic to the narrative audience.

5.6 The Nature of Jesus in Acts 17:22–31

The Areopagus speech, like Peter's speech to Cornelius in 10:34–43, clearly presents Jesus as a human. As in the earlier speech, Jesus is mortal, experiencing death and life in that God raised him from the dead. Second, the speech designates him as an *ἄνθρωπος*. While this term could speak of a being that appears as a human, some contextual indication that the word designates something other than a human should be present to lead to some other interpretation. In the case of Jesus in 17:31, Luke-Acts earlier indicated that he is a male human being.

⁹⁴ Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 253.

Paul's speech, however, suggests that Jesus participates in the final judgment of God in that he will judge all people everywhere. Its use of the polemic pattern and the language of God's coming in judgment from Psalm 96 displays fluidity in speaking about Jesus and God in judgment like that observed in 10:34–43. Again, some early reception continues to reflect this fluidity. Origen, *Commentary on John* 1.253 quotes κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, whether from a psalm or from Acts 17:31 is not clear, with Jesus as the subject.⁹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, when speaking of Jesus' future coming into the world, designates him in *Contra Eunomium* 3.2.48 ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ and speaks in *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii* 85 of ὅταν κρίνῃ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ λαοὺς ἐν εὐθύτητι.⁹⁶ The latter expression probably comes from either Psalm 9 or 98 because of the presence of its final phrase.

5.7 Conclusions

Rather than a foreign body in Luke-Acts expressing Stoic thought, the Areopagus speech follows scriptural patterns of ideas and theological emphases that cohere with the narrative in which the speech appears while advancing a theology contrasting with Greek philosophical systems. The speech does not show the influence of the more common collection of texts that contemporary literature draws from to construct eschatological judgment figures. Instead, it uses a pattern of polemic that functions as an affirmation not merely of monotheism, but of the singularity and uniqueness of the God of Israel, and therefore the irreality of other gods. It also displays particular correspondence to Psalm 96 both in content and in its narrative setting such that it reproduces the language of this psalm

⁹⁵ Cécile Blanc in Origen, *Commentaire sur saint Jean*, vol. 2: *Livres VI et X*, ed. Cécile Blanc, SC 157 (Paris: Éditions du cerf, 1970), 186 gives only a reference to Acts 17:31.

⁹⁶ "Contra Eunomium Libri," in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, ed. Wernerus Jaeger, 2 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 2:68; "Refutatio confessionis Eunomii," in Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, 2:347.

for God's coming in judgment as the nations become beneficiaries of his salvation. Yet it places Jesus into one of the primary activities that distinguishes the one God of Israel in the polemic pattern by speaking of Jesus judging within that pattern, and God's coming in judgment from the psalms occurs when God judges in Jesus at Jesus' future coming.

Considering the object of Paul's proclamation in Athens does not clarify what might seem to be ambiguity or confusion between God and Jesus when speaking of Jesus' judgment. Rather, it shows a fluidity whereby when the Athenian philosophers ask Paul to explain about his proclamation of Jesus, he announces that he is proclaiming the unknown God who is the creator while placing Jesus into the activity that distinguishes this God from all other supposed deities.

Nevertheless, the speech also directly states that Jesus is a human, although a unique human. Jesus is a human appointed to involvement in God's final judgment of the world as elsewhere in Luke-Acts he appears as the appointed messiah. Although the speech never uses the word *χριστός*, the narrative progression of Luke-Acts portrays the speech as apostolic testimony about Jesus as the messiah, which the statement concerning his judgment, if it expresses his messianic identity, allows. The logic by which Jesus' resurrection demonstrates that he is the person by whom God will judge the world also presupposes that this judgment is messianic activity. Acts does not suggest that the narrative audience of the speech would be familiar with the idea of a messiah. Jesus' judgment in 17:31 appears within Acts, however, as expressing his messianic identity, perhaps even introducing the messianic concept in Luke-Acts to them, even while it suggests divine authority in that this judgment is activity that distinguishes the one true God.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study has combined lines of inquiry not often pursued together by considering the christological significance of judgment in two Acts speeches, approached as integral to the narrative progression of the book in light of eschatological figures in Qumran and pseudepigraphal literature. I propose that Acts presents the apostolic proclamation as emphasizing Jesus' role as a unique eschatological judge, one whose judgment both suggests his divine authority and expresses his messianic identity. The two speeches that most directly state Jesus' role in judgment, those in Acts 10 and Acts 17, indicate this significance for his judgment, particularly when read in a context of other Jewish eschatological judgment figures and as part of the narrative of Luke-Acts.

After my survey of eschatological judgment figures in pseudepigraphal and Qumran texts in chapters 2 and 3, I showed in chapter 4 that when Peter's speech reaches its high point of describing the apostolic message in Acts 10:42–43, Peter claims for Jesus what contemporary non-Christian Jewish texts say only of God. Jesus will judge the living and the dead. He is the judge at the final judgment at the time of the resurrection. The speech's structure, the correspondence of the speech's content to the description of God's impartiality in Deuteronomy 10:17–20, and the relation of Jesus' judgment to forgiveness of sins reinforce this association of his judgment with divine activity. At the same time, Jesus' uniqueness as a human judge, the announcement of his judgment as the content of the apostolic message, and his appointment to his place as judge present his activity in judgment as indicative of his identity as the messiah.

I argued in chapter 5 that the presentation of Jesus' activity in judgment at the end of Paul's Areopagus speech coheres with that in Peter's speech to Cornelius. Christology is neither absent nor merely appended with little relation to the rest of the speech's content. The scriptural patterns and texts that shape the Areopagus speech speak of Israel's God alone.

Moreover, these texts emphasize the singularity and uniqueness of God, highlighting his judgment as distinguishing him from any other deity. Again, however, the appointment of Jesus to his role as judge and the function of the Areopagus speech as delivery of the apostolic message indicate that the speech's statement of his activity in his judgment expresses his messianic identity.

When the two strands of the christological significance of the presentation of Jesus' judgment in these speeches are brought together, Jesus is seen to be a human who judges with divine authority in his position as the messiah. He could not judge with divine authority as a human without being the messiah, even though other figures that contemporary texts label "messiah" judge in more limited ways. Yet, within Luke-Acts, to judge as these speeches present the messiah judging is to judge with the authority with which God judges. In this way, Luke-Acts differs markedly from contemporary non-Christian Jewish texts.

Six further observations and implications may be inferred from my argument. First, this study further traces the contours and characteristics of messianism and mediatorial figures in Judaism contemporary with the beginnings of Christianity and the New Testament texts. Within the diversity of messianism present in Judaism from the late Second Temple period and shortly after, royal figures that the selected Qumran and pseudepigraphal texts designate as a "messiah" characteristically judge. Furthermore, in texts that in their extant form do not specify judging as one of the characteristics of the figures they discuss, judgment is consonant with their other activities. The eschatological judgment figures in these texts, whether designated "messiah" or not, are, like Jesus in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17, unique judges who judge righteously. These observations help to place the presentation of Jesus as the messiah in Luke-Acts in context. Moreover, when one accounts for the depiction of Jesus in the larger narrative leading up to the speeches in Acts 10 and 17, it becomes clear

that these speeches present Jesus' activity as judge as activity indicative of his messianic identity.

I have focused attention on Acts 10 and 17, but other speeches in Acts also stress Jesus' role as judge to a greater degree than what previous studies have appreciated. If in Luke-Acts, Jesus' identity as the messiah includes his activity as a judge, when other speeches, such as those in Acts 2, 3, and 13 present Jesus as the messiah they may include his role as judge. For example, judgment as a messianic activity thus informs deliverance in the coming Day of the Lord through Jesus as the one who is Lord and messiah in Acts 2. The messianic judgment of Jesus calls for repentance in order for sin to be wiped away before the sending of Jesus as the messiah in 3:19–20. Jesus' role as judge informs justification by believing in Jesus in 13:39. This means that the emphasis on Jesus as a judge in the Acts speeches is much more prevalent than some, such as Dodd, previously suggested.

Second, this study clarifies significant ways in which Jesus differs from other Jewish eschatological judgment figures. No other unique eschatological judgment figures that are roughly contemporary with Acts clearly act as judges at the final judgment at the time of the resurrection. Only Jesus is depicted as the judge of the living and the dead. None of these figures are explicitly described as rendering positive judgment for people from other nations. Here again, only Jesus is said to express the impartiality of God for people from every nation. Tied to this, although other texts mention God's mercy and depict eschatological figures vindicating the righteous, the figures neither forgive nor mediate forgiveness. By way of contrast, all who believe in Jesus in Acts 10:42 receive forgiveness in his name, a forgiveness that, if read in light of Luke 5:17–26, Jesus himself extends.

Further, the texts in which these other figures appear often use the same set of scriptural texts to describe them. Of particular note are Isaiah 11 (sometimes with part of Isa 10), Psalm 2, and Daniel 7, to which some texts add others, particularly concerning

eschatological conflict (e.g., Ezek 38–39) or a royal figure (e.g., Mic 5). Occasionally, they use scriptural texts that originally speak of Yahweh’s activities to describe these figures. When they do, the figures are the means by which God accomplishes these activities. Luke-Acts uses many of these same texts for Jesus. Remarkably, however, the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 do not use these common texts when they emphasize Jesus’ role as judge. These speeches apply scriptural passages about Yahweh to Jesus, but they use texts and patterns that emphasize the uniqueness and singularity of Yahweh in contrast to all other deities. These speeches apply to Jesus the very points that their scriptural source texts use to speak of Yahweh’s uniqueness. Thus, in Acts 10:34–43 Jesus’ judgment expresses the impartiality of Israel’s God, recalling Yahweh as the one who is **אלהי האלהים ואדני האדנים האל הגדל הגבר** in Deuteronomy 10:17. Paul’s Areopagus speech uses a pattern of polemic against all deities and objects of veneration aside from Israel’s God, a pattern that distinguishes him by his creation and judgment. Yet the speech does so while speaking of Jesus’ judgment. This speech also shows the fulfilment of Psalm 96’s praise for Yahweh’s salvation for the nations and of the psalm’s anticipation of his coming to judge the world in righteousness. Yet this fulfilment occurs through Jesus’ judgment of the world and the proclamation of Jesus when Paul proclaims the Unknown God.

Third, in the study of the speeches in Acts and the christology of Luke-Acts, narrative progression and the use of scriptural texts and patterns require more attention. Abstracting the speeches from their narrative settings rather than approaching them as an integral part of the narrative progression of Acts results in a distortion of what they portray to the implied audience of the book. Additionally, while many attempt to analyze the form and function of the speeches in light of Greek and Roman rhetoric and historiography, the manner in which Jewish scriptural patterns shape the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 suggests that more work remains to be done to study the Acts speeches in light of the form and content of the scripture

they use. This includes considering how the content, form, and function of the speeches may be part of the larger theology of scripture speaking of Jesus as the messiah who would suffer, who would rise again on the third day, and in whose name repentance for the forgiveness of sins would be proclaimed to all the nations.

Fourth, the observations of this study cut against assessments of Lukan christology as only “low” and “adoptionistic.” Richard B. Hays similarly concludes from a study of scriptural intertextuality in the Gospel of Luke,

*The ‘low’ Christology that much twentieth-century criticism perceived in Luke’s Gospel was an artificial construction achieved by excluding the hermeneutical relevance of the wider canonical witness, particularly the Old Testament allusions in Luke’s story. It is therefore precisely by attending more fully to the Old Testament allusions in Luke’s Gospel that we gain a deeper and firmer grasp of the theological coherence between Luke’s testimony and what the church’s dogmatic tradition has classically affirmed about the identity of Jesus.*¹

Luke-Acts presents Jesus as acting with divine authority, even in the speeches, which form-critics used in attempts to discern earlier stages of theological development. My focus on one area of Jesus’ activity, his judgment, lends support to the conclusions of Buckwalter and Rowe that Luke-Acts depicts Jesus as divine. In refinement of Bauckham, observing the use of scriptural texts concerning the uniqueness and singularity of God may serve to define what constitutes divine identity for authors as well as how authors appeal to what defines God when speaking about Jesus. At the same time, this study draws attention to features of Luke-Acts that simultaneously allowed “low” christology readings as well as these recent “high” christology interpretations. Luke-Acts, in its presentation of Jesus as judge, depicts Jesus as both the human appointed as the messiah and as a figure whose authority as judge exceeds that of any other figures in contemporary Jewish texts except for God.

¹ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2016), 262, italics in original.

For the sake of clarity, I must stress that I am not claiming that the statements about Jesus' judgment in the speeches in Acts 10 and 17 directly attribute divinity to Jesus. Luke-Acts nowhere presents Jesus as divine with the directness appearing in texts such as John 1:1. Yet, when the observations concerning judgment from the previous chapters are joined with the arguments that Bock, Buckwalter, and Rowe have offered, they provide further justification for the view that Luke-Acts presents Jesus as participating in the unique divine identity of Israel's God. Acts even presents early Christian proclamation as suggesting this identity. At the same time, my observations on the significance of judgment (1) hold together this suggestion of divine identity with Jesus' humanity, (2) account for the Lukan emphasis on Jesus as *χριστός* that Tuckett views as predominant, and (3) allow a unified reading of the passages about Jesus' judgment in Luke-Acts that Bousset, Bultmann, and Conzelmann interpreted as different stages of christological development.

Fifth, the preceding observation has significance for the study of christology in New Testament texts and early Christianity more broadly. Research needs to consider the relationship between Jesus having divine authority, engaging in divine activity, and participating in divine identity on the one hand, and his particular human identity as the messiah on the other. That Jesus' activity in judgment simultaneously expresses his divine authority and messianic identity as a human draws attention to a need in christological discussions to continue to explore beyond the question of the "height" of christology. Literature arguing for a "high" christology in Luke-Acts, in other books in the New Testament, or in early Christianity does not deny that early Christian literature presents Jesus as a human. This literature often gives little attention, however, to how and why "high" christology relates to Jesus' human nature. Beyond this, the particularity of Jesus' humanity needs to receive greater attention. Bauckham draws attention to the particularity of Israel's God in his discussion of christology that helpfully moves away from the abstract

consideration of whether New Testament books present Jesus as divine towards a consideration of specifically what divinity would mean in the Jewish context of early Christianity. Consideration of Jesus as a human needs similarly to move away from a simplistic recognition that Jesus appears as a human in early Christian literature to the particular kind of human these texts present Jesus to be as the messiah.

In Luke-Acts, divine authority and human messianic identity appear to necessarily relate to each other, but not in a way easily described by designations of its christology as “high” or “low.” Jesus is human, but he engages in divine activity and acts with unparalleled, even uniquely divine, authority associated with divine identity. Jesus, however, inhabits a particular kind of humanity in Luke-Acts, that of the davidic messiah of whom Moses and the prophets spoke in scripture, just as he appears to participate in a particular divine identity.

Finally, my observations point in the direction that some early Christians proceeded during the next couple centuries. Later creedal formulations of christology and articulations of two-natures christology did not arise in a vacuum. Features of Luke-Acts (and we may venture to consider other New Testament texts) that point to Jewish patterns of thought through the use of scripture as expressing both divine authority and human messianic identity present a challenge to viewing such creeds and articulations as only the result of later contact with a non-Jewish environment. Rather, Luke-Acts may present “exegetical necessity” for later christological debates and even the articulation of a two-natures christology, even if those articulations tended to lose sight of Jesus’ particularity as messiah within a first-century Jewish context.² The use of Acts 10:42 in the *Symbolum Romanum*, Nicene Creed, and later

² On this “exegetical necessity,” see C. Kevin Rowe, “Luke and the Trinity: An Essay in Ecclesial Biblical Theology,” *SJT* 56 (2003): 4.

creeds may not be accidental, nor the particularly Lukan formulation of the *Symbolum Romanum* as a whole.³

The speeches in Acts itself, by building on belief in the God of Israel by speaking of Jesus as Christ, as Lord, as anointed by the Holy Spirit, as crucified, as raised on the third day, and as judge of the living and the dead, provide the material and impetus for confessions to say, in Trinitarian order, “I believe in God, the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth” followed by “I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord” as the one “will come to judge the living and the dead.”

³ Among the four canonical gospels, Luke, if accompanied by Acts, is the only one containing statements explicitly corresponding to all statements in the *Symbolum Romanum*, and its statements concerning conception by the Holy Spirit, birth from Mary, suffering, ascension, Jesus’ position at the right hand, judging the living and the dead, a universal *ekklesia*, and forgiveness of sins reflect Lukan emphases and expression. On creeds expressing christology for which Luke-Acts puts pressure, see Rowe, “Luke and the Trinity,” 3–5, 23–24. Rowe’s focus in this article is *κύριος* and *σωτήρ* in Luke’s nativity. This article applies ideas in C. Kevin Rowe, “Biblical Pressure and Trinitarian Hermeneutics,” *Pro Ecclesia* 11 (2002): 295–312.

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